

T H E  
H I S T O R Y  
O F T H E  
L I F E  
O F  
*Tamerlane the Great.*

FROM THE  
Time of his being made Regent of  
SACHETAY till his Death.

Originally written in ARABIC  
By ALHACEN, a learned ARABIAN.

Translated, abridged and methodized, from the French  
of JEAN DU BEC, Abbot of Mortemer.

With POLITICAL NOTES.

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TO HIS  
ROYAL HIGHNESS  
Prince GEORGE.

SIR,

AS the patronage of great princes hath been earnestly sought by writers of all countries and all ages, it is very natural for an *Englishman* to aspire to the protection of a prince nursed in the arms of liberty; a prince whose royal parents have, in his education, the noble view of making him worthy to govern a free people; and whose growing virtues perfectly

iv DEDICATION.

perfectly answer their truly royal design.

Permit me therefore, Sir, to lay at your Highness's feet, The history of the life of the Great TAMERLANE, whose candour and greatness of soul surpassed his military exploits, tho' his arms were always victorious. That your Highness may transcend him in all his virtues, is, with great sincerity, the prayer of,

S I R,

*Your Royal Highness's*

*most obedient*

*and most humble Servant,*

LYONELL VANE.

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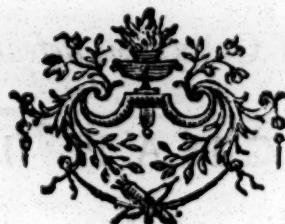
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THE  
P R E F A C E.

**M**ons<sup>r</sup> *de Mortemer* says, in his preface, That the history of the life of *Tamerlane*, wrote by *Albacen*, a learned *Arabian*, is highly valued in the East: That this great and worthy person was one of *Tamerlane's* favourites, attended him in all his wars, and wrote this history by his master's command: That during the Abbot's travels in the *Levant*, this author fell into his hands, which he got translated into the *Lingua Franca* by an *Arabian*. As the translator imagined some errors might, by

## The P R E F A C E.

by that means, have crept into Mr. *de Mortemer's* translation, printed at *Brussells* in 1600, he thought the best way to make an *English* dress fit easy on *Tamerlane*, was to abridge and methodize the *French*; to which he hath added a few notes. How far success answers the attempt, is submitted to the reader.



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T H E

T H E

# HISTORY

Of the LIFE of

## TAMERLANE the GREAT.

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### C H A P. I.

*The origin of Tamerlane, his character, war with the Muscovites, and marriage with the daughter of the great chancier of Tartary.*

**T**AMERLANE descended from the royal house of the *Tartar* emperors, and succeeded his father *Og*, in the kingdom of *Sachetay*, which is the celebrated *Parthia* of the ancients ; and hath for its capital the city of *Samarcand*, situated on the river *Isarl*. Some historians pretend, that *Tamerlane* was the son of a shepherd, but they must have been ignorant that the principal revenues of the princes and grandees in this country, consist in cattle, that the *Parthians* despise gold and silver, but set a high value on their flocks and herds, and are for these reasons called shepherds ; which gave birth to this mistake.

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As soon as the father of *Tamerlane* thought his son capable of ruling with prudence and justice, he made him regent of the kingdom, and presented to this prince two able and worthy men, to assist him in governing the state, and then retired from a publick life, to serve God, and finish the remainder of his days in peace. *Odmar* and *Haly*, those worthy counsellors, *Tamerlane* honoured during their lives, with esteem and praise; and after he lost *Haly* in a battle with the *Muscovites*, paid a great respect to his memory, and constantly wore the rings of these servants, to preserve in his mind, the wise precepts they taught him for the good government of his kingdom\*. This manner of acting is of great importance to princes who

\* *Burnet*, in the history of his own times, says of *Charles* the second, that he had been obliged to so many who had been faithful to him and careful of him, that he seemed afterwards to make an equal return to them all; and finding it not easy to reward them all as they deserved, he forgot them all alike. Most princes seem to have this pretty deep in them, and to think they ought never to remember past services, but that their acceptance of them is a full reward. He, of all in our age, exerted this piece of prerogative in the amplest manner; for he never seemed to charge his memory, or trouble his thoughts with the sense of any services that had been done him.

desire

## TAMERLANE the GREAT. 3

desire to be well served ; for there is not any thing that flatters the pride of mankind so agreeably, as this sort of acknowledgement. As on the contrary, when princes think no longer of their servants or their services, than whilst they are capable of being of use to their masters, people's affections cool, and they serve with indifference.

*Tamerlane* was well instructed in the learning of the *Arabians*, and most commonly at his studies, when thought at his baths. In his countenance there was so much majesty it was difficult to support his looks, for which reason, this prince would generally with a decent modesty, turn his eyes from the person with whom he discoursed. The features of his face were finely formed, he had scarce any beard, went bareheaded, and wore his hair long and curled ; which was of a dark brown, and the finest the eye could behold. As it is the custom of these people to shave their heads, and keep them always covered, this novelty inspired his soldiers with a great veneration for him ; most of them believing, that in his hair, there was some extraordinary virtue. His stature was of the middle size, a little too strait betwixt the shoulders ; his legs perfectly well

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made \*, and nobody surpassed him in force, which on high festivals he frequently tried with the most robust; he was also martial and covetous of glory.

The first war he undertook, was against the *Muscovites*, who pillaged a town that put

\* *Ipse dies agitat festos : fususque per herbam  
Ignis ubi in medio & socii cratera coronant,  
Te libans, Lenæe, vocat : pecorisque magistris  
Velocis Jaculi certamina ponit in u'mo,  
Corporaque agresti nudat prædura palæstra.  
Hanc olim veteres vitam coluere Sabini,  
Hanc Remus & frater : sic fortis Etruria crevit,  
Scilicet & rerum facta est pulcherrima Roma.*

VIRG. GEORG. v. 527.

“ Himself in rustic pomp on holy days,  
“ To rural powers a just oblation pays ; }  
“ And on the green his careless limbs displays. }  
“ The hearth is in the midst, the herdsmen round  
“ The cheerful fire, provoke his health in goblets  
crown'd.  
“ He calls on *Bacchus* and propounds the prize, }  
“ The groom his fellow groom at buts defies, }  
“ And bends his bow, and levels with his eyes.  
“ Or, stript for wrestling, smears his limbs with oil,  
“ And watches with a trip his foe to foil.  
“ Such was the life the frugal *Sabines* led ;  
“ So *Remus* and his brother god were bred :  
“ From whom th' austere *Etrurian* virtue rose ;  
“ And this rude life our homely fathers chose :  
“ Old *Rome* from such a race derived her birth,  
“ The seat of empire and the conquered earth.

DRYDEN.

TAMERLANE the GREAT. 5

itself under his protection, and afterwards entered into his country ; upon which *Tamerlane* declared war against them, and gave the czar battle, near a river called *Mafpha*. The ground was disadvantageous to the *Parthians*, for the *Muscovites* posted on a hill six thousand of their best infantry, to attack us in flank, as we approached their army ; which the prince perceiving, commanded *Haly* general of the foot, to attack this post with twenty thousand men ; and the *Muscovites* making a motion as if they intended to succour their foot upon the hill, *Tamerlane* passed the river, which gave occasion to the battle.

The forces of the *Russians* were veteran troops, inured to fatigues by continual wars with their neighbours, and consisted of four-score thousand horse, and one hundred thousand foot. Our army amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand horse, and one hundred and thirty thousand foot, but not so well disciplined as the *Muscovites*, the kingdom of *Sachetay* having for many years enjoyed peace.

Our vanguard was led by *Odmar*, the main battle by *Tamerlane*, and the prince of *Tanais*,

*nais*, son of a sister of *Tamerlane's*, commanded the rear guard. The *Muscovite* vanguard was led by the emperor's son, who was styled the prince of *Russia*; the main battle by the czar; and their infantry posted betwixt the main battle and rear guard.

Our army having passed the river, *Tamerlane* harangued his officers and soldiers in the following manner. "Fellow soldiers, it is  
"not for riches or to enlarge my dominions,  
"that we fight to-day, but to renew with  
"lustre the ancient fame of *Parthia*; she  
"that formerly set bounds to the *Roman*  
"name and glory; for *Rome*, tho' mistress of  
"the rest of the world, could never fix her  
"standards there; confiding in your fidelity,  
"and that you will not yield in virtue to your  
"ancestors, I have ordered you to pass  
"the river; and here we must resolve to  
"die, or return with laurels on our brows."  
Whilst these things passed, the *Parthians* commanded by *Haly*, gained the hill, after a long and doubtful combat; and the *Muscovites* moved towards us in order of battle, which *Tamerlane* observing, commanded *Odmar* to advance, who answered, it was more prudent to wait for the enemy where we were posted, which bridled the rashness of  
this

## TAMERLANE the GREAT. 7

this young prince. *Odmar* an old experienced general, having the wind and sun at his back, was for preserving this advantage, which greatly contributed to the victory; for when the *Muscovites* attacked us, so great a dust was raised by the horses, they could not see where their troops prevailed, or where it was necessary to send succours.

The czar begun the engagement by attacking *Odmar* with great impetuosity, who supported himself for some time against this tempest, but at last was obliged to give way, with a considerable loss. *Haly* was killed by an arrow, as he was marching to attack the *Russian* infantry; and his troops seeing their general dead, fled without coming to blows with the enemy. The *Muscovite* vanguard attacked our main battle, commanded by the prince, and pierced it quite thro', which obliged *Tamerlane* to fight, retreating after the manner of the *Parthians*, till he was joined by the prince of *Tanais*, and assisted by *Odmar*, who had rallied his broken cavalry and attacked the *Russians* in flank, which greatly abated their fury. After this junction, the enemy made a gallant effort, but numbers and conduct prevailed over the bravery of the *Muscovites*, and victory begun

to declare in favour of the *Parthians*, which they pursued with great ardour. Our loss amounted to twelve thousand men, and that of the *Muscovites*, near forty thousand by computation.

*Tamerlane* returned thanks to God on the field of battle for the victory, and having interred his own, and the dead of the enemy, praised the valour of his soldiers, and gave them all the honour that was due to their bravery. The loss of *Haly* was greatly lamented by his master, who ordered his body to be placed in his own tent, till he returned to *Samarcand*, at which place he gave him an honourable sepulture. I cannot omit observing that when *Tamerlane* saw so many thousand men dead on the field of battle, he turned to one of his favourites, and deplored the condition of those who command armies, praised his father for leading a peaceful life, and acknowledged the misery of mankind, who build their glory on the destruction of their fellow creatures \*. I must likewise inform the

\* There is not any thing in which princes ought to be more careful, than in chusing their favourites; for before the good or bad inclinations of princes are publickly known, mankind form a judgment of them,

## TAMERLANE the GREAT. 9

the reader, that the favourites of *Tamerlane* were not the minions of his pleasures ; but men of known probity, and capable of assisting him in well governing the state, or commanding his armies. Such was the christian *Axalla*, who for his rare merit, was as much esteemed by the subjects of the prince as beloved by his master.

The prince repos'd his troops a few days after his victory, and then marched to the confines of *Muscovy*, which obliged the czar

them, from the characters of those that are most in their favour, and are seldom mistaken. *Macenas* and *Agrippa* were the favourites of *Augustus*, and *Tigellinus* the confidant of *Nero*.

The *English* began to have a disadvantageous idea of their new king (*Edward II.*) and at the same time, to think of means to curb the impetuous career of a prince, who gave so just occasion of fear. Not content with having begun his reign, with the breach of his oath to the king his father, in recalling a favourite despised by all the world, he had loaded him with benefits, and immediately after his return, presented him with the Isle of *Man*. *Rapin's Hist. of Engl.* transl. by *Tindal*.

As soon as he (*Richard II.*) was out of his childhood, he was observed to chuse favourites, whose inclinations suited his own, or at least who knew how to make as if they approved of whatever he did. *Rapin transl. by Tindal*.

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The ambassadors being arrived at our camp, the prince received them with great civility, enquired after the czar's health, and demanded what busines brought them there; to which the *Russians* answered, they came by their prince's order to treat of peace, and beg'd he would use his victory as the gift of fortune, who was capable of changing \*. *Tamerlane* told them, he had armed to defend his subjects and allies, gained the victory by the justice of his cause, and gave all the glory of it to the God of battles; that his heart was not in the least elated with his success, the *Parthians* having this maxim from their ancestors, not to be dejected in adversity or blinded with prosperity; that he was equitable tho' victorious, and if they promised not to molest his allies, would grant them peace on the following conditions: That they should pay a yearly tribute of one hundred thou-

\* Tho' his prowess (*Edward III.*) was acknowledged and admired by all the world, he was never puffed up on that score; never did he shew greater signs of humility, than in the course of his victories, which he constantly ascribed to the sole protection of heaven. *Rapin's Hist. of Eng. transl. by Tindal.*

## TAMERLANE the GREAT. II

sand ducats, reimburse his expences, restore all the prisoners, and give hostages for performance of the articles. The ambassadors accepted these conditions.

*Tamerlane* having finished this war to his satisfaction, returned with glory to *Samar-cand*, where his father received him with great tenderness, but shewed no marks of joy at the prosperity of the prince, his thoughts being wholly employed on another life.

The great cham of *Tartary*, brother of his father, hearing of his fame and virtue, offered him his daughter in marriage, and that he should be acknowledged heir to his empire throughout all his dominions, being old and having no hopes of any more children. Upon this obliging offer, *Tamerlane* went to *Quinsay*, the emperor's residence; where he was received with the utmost magnificence, and greatly admired for his dexterity in shooting at the mark with the bow, changing horses in the middle of their course, darting the javelin, and running at the ring.

Six days after his arrival he was crowned with universal applause; for *Tamerlane* resolved to have this ceremony performed before

fore his marriage, that the world might not imagine this rich inheritance came with his wife, but by right of succession, as the daughters never succeed to the crown amongst the *Tartars*. Immediately after his coronation, he married the daughter of the emperor, staid with his uncle two months, and then returned with his princefs to *Samarcand*; which city pleased him above all others by the beauty of its situation, and convenien-  
cy of a fine navigable river that runs thro' the town, and brings a considerable trade.

Whilst he kept his court here, the czar sent ambassadors with compliments and presents of fine horses and excellent furs, to the great satisfaction of *Tamerlane*, who had heard the *Muscovite* was arming, which proved true, but it was against the *Poles* and their allies.

Immediately after the departure of these ambassadors, others arrived from the king of *Poland* to desire his assistance, which *Tamerlane* absolutely refused. Several grandees of the court endeavoured to persuade the prince to affist the *Poles*, saying it was a maxim to prevent the *Muscovite* from aggrandising himself, at the expence of *Poland*;

as

as by this means, the czar would become formidable to the *Parthians*; that before he increased his power, was the time to humble him, for afterwards they might find it too late. To this the prince answered, he had beat the *Muscovites* with the forces of *Parthia*, which was only a province of *Tartary*; and at present being master of the whole empire, had very little reason to fear their power; that the peace lately concluded betwixt the two nations, was known to all the neighbouring potentates, and the rupture of it should never be imputed to him, tho' it might be seemingly advantageous to his subjects, for God never fails of punishing those, who unjustly make war against their neighbours. Several great men of the council supported their opinions by remonstrating the ancient enmity betwixt the *Parthians* and *Muscovites*, and their difference in religion; and like prudent old counsellors, were for adhering to certain known rules, which are laid down as necessary to maintain kingdoms and republics in splendour. On the contrary, *Odmar*, who was acquainted with the prince's real designs, supported his reasons, and praised his magnanimity, in strictly observing the rules of equity and justice; for *Odmar* was the only person present when the great cham advised

ed the prince to make war against the king of *China*, as a thing absolutely necessary, and offered to assist him with all his forces. *Tamerlane* was preparing for that war at this time, otherwise I believe, he would not have neglected the prudent counsel proposed to him; as he constantly followed the dictates of reason in all his affairs, which singly made him more praise-worthy than the rest of his virtues united together, and gained him the love and esteem of mankind.

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## C H A P. II.

*The rebellion of Calix, his defeat and death.*

**T**AMERLANE was convinced that in times of peace it is difficult to contain a brave people within the bounds of their duty, whose sole employment is war; therefore undertook this expedition against the king of *China*, with great satisfaction \*. However, before any hosti-

\* Since politicians came so much in fashion, this ancient rule hath in a great measure been laid aside to make room for injustice, fraud and violence; on which the statesman's art seems to depend.

There are crimes which become innocent and even glorious, thro' their splendour, number and excess:

## TAMERLANE the GREAT. 15

hostilities were committed, he sent ambassadors to demand of this prince, restitution of the provinces belonging to *Tartary*, and the passes of a river called *Tachii*, which were enclosed within the walls that separate *China* from the territories of the great chām; and whilst he waited for the return of the ambassadors, ordered the imperial troops, which consisted of two hundred thousand fighting men, to assemble in the desarts of *Egrimul*, and the *Parthians* at *Hirdas de Bascbir*. The ambassadors being returned, gave an account to the prince of their negotiation with this king of the world, as he stiled himself; who made them this proud answer to their demand: That he was surprised at their message, for *Tamerlane* ought to be satisfied with what he had left him, and which was in his power to take whenever he pleased, for his forces were different from those over whom their master had lately gained a victory, which he published with pomp, to frighten his neighbours. Upon this answer, the prince went to his army, gave orders to hasten the provisions from all parts, com-

excess: hence it is, that publick theft is called address, and to seize on provinces unjustly, to make conquests. *R. maxims, trans. from the Fr.*

manded the auxiliaries to advance, sent a courier to the emperor to acquaint him with the answer he had received, and published the insolence of the king of *China*, to satisfy the world of the justice of his cause.

*Tamerlane*, before his departure, visited the tomb of his servant *Haly*, and prayed three days for his soul according to the law; and this duty performed, took leave of his father, who prophetically foretold him, he should see him no more, and the good old prince having prayed for the prosperity of his son, and kissed him several times, took the imperial ring from his finger and presented it to him, without demanding on what enterprise he was going. In the last place, he provided for the peace and quiet of his kingdom during his absence, by leaving it under the care of *Samay*, who had been governor to the prince in his infancy, and was a man of great experience in state affairs.

*Tamerlane* having settled every thing to his satisfaction, departed from *Samarcant* with the princess his wife, and went directly to the *Parthian* army, which consisted of fifty thousand horse, and one hundred thousand foot. He was obliged to stay at *Cachobach* almost a month,

month, on account of an indisposition, which was occasioned by the change of air, as the physicians declared ; but as the news of his sickness was spread every where, *Tamerlane* took care to inform the great cham from time to time of his health, lest any disturbance should happen on account of his late promotion to the empire ; for he suspected a great lord, named *Calix*, of some ill designs against the state. Some people were of opinion the reason of his stay at this place, was the advice he received, a rebellion would break out as soon as he passed the mountains of *Pasamfu*, and that he ordered the troops of the great cham, to advance towards these mountains, in hopes the malecontents would declare themselves openly, which had the desired effect.

*Calix* having advice of the prince's sickness and march of the whole army, as he imagined, thought it a good opportunity to throw off the mask; therefore on this account assembled the chiefs of his party, and told them, that since the great *cham* had been so base as to declare the *Parthian* heir of the empire, without consulting those who had the greatest interest in this election, a fair opportunity now offered to do them-

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selves justice, and secure their liberty, for *Tamerlane* was on the frontiers of *China*, and dangerously sick, and the best part of the emperor's forces at a great distance, and consequently nothing to be feared, either from the *Tartars* or *Parthians*; that for his part, he had sent ambassadors to the king of *China* to acquaint that prince with his designs, and demand his alliance, and proposed immediately to assemble his forces, and march into the province of *Catay*, where he was certain the people would take up arms in his favour.

Nothing could be greater or better framed, than this scheme of *Calix*; for he had with great secrecy endeavoured to gain the people to his interest, solicited foreign princes to assist him, and prepared every thing necessary for his revolt. However, tho' this affair was managed with so much art, it came to the knowledge of *Tamerlane*, who despised or rather seemed to despise this advice; for I am very certain, he was not so sick at *Cachobach*, as he pretended to be, but was then taking proper measures against the intended rebellion of *Calix*, and prudently dissembled, till he had a perfect knowledge of his designs.

As soon as the prince was assured *Calix* had set up the standard of rebellion, he advanced two days march, to come up with *Calibes*, who was encamped at *Bouprou*; and upon his arrival, summoned the general officers to a council of war, and spoke to them in the following manner: "As a rebellion is broke out in the heart of our country, I believe, you will advise me to lay aside the enterprise against the king of *China*, and chastise *Calix*, for disobeying his prince; but it is my opinion, this manner of acting would be highly imprudent, as it is certain *Calix* expects to be supported by that prince, which makes it absolutely necessary, to prevent the *Chinese* from entering the empire, whilst I am employed in forcing this rebel to return to his duty. Therefore the army to secure our frontiers shall consist of forty thousand *Scythian*, and twenty five thousand *Parthian* horse, and one hundred thousand foot, under the command of *Calibes*. With the rest of the forces, I will move towards the rebels, order *Samay* to join me with fifty thousand men, and acquaint the emperor with this resolution." Some of the generals were of a different opinion, and said it was too bold an undertaking

to make head against the king of *China*, whilst there was so dangerous an ulcer in the bowels of the empire, and they ought solely to think of providing for the safety of their country \* ; but these were not of the prince's secret council, for he had a long time suspected the designs of *Calix*, and provided a great army in *Sachetay*, which was ready to join him on the first notice. Nor did they perceive that *Tamerlane*, tho' he pretended otherwise, was very glad to enter armed into his new empire, in a manner, that would appear just in the sight of the emperor ; for by this means, he should fix himself firmly on

\* *Tamerlane's* address is greatly to be admired for being prepared against this rebellion, and obliging the rebels to declare themselves, without giving the great chancery any jealousy, or the people any reason to imagine he intended to oppress them.

The earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmoreland*, both very powerful in the north, had held together several conferences, of which queen *Elizabeth* had notice, and which caused her to order them to repair to court. They made some dilatory excuses, but the queen sent them a more express order, to put them under a necessity of relinquishing their enterprize, or engaging in an open rebellion, before they had taken proper measures. This second order produced the effect she expected. The two earls knowing themselves guilty, and not daring to trust to the queen's mercy, took arms, and drew some forces together. *Rapin Hist. of Eng. tran. by Tindal.*

the

the throne, gain the love of the soldiery, and by punishing *Calix* with severity, make him an example to others who might have the same views.

*Tamerlane* after some days march, on his return, had advice the great chām was fallen sick, and the whole empire would be in rebellion, if he did not prevent it by his presence; upon which he left his infantry to follow him with the utmost expedition, and made forced marches with the horse.

*Calix* with one hundred thousand men, marched to *Cambalu*, the capital of the province of *Catay*; and was received by the inhabitants with open arms. Here he sent deputies from the city and army, to assure the emperor, they had only taken arms to deliver themselves from the yoke of the prince of *Sachetay*, and desire he would receive *Calix* as his heir and successor, and not let the *Tartar* grandeur be buried under the narrow limits of *Parthia*.

The ambitious leader of the rebels, was employed in receiving presents from the neighbouring provinces, when the dreadful and unexpected news arrived at *Cambalu*, of

*Tamerlane's* approach with a well appointed army, which made a great alteration in the affairs of *Calix*; for numbers who followed him out of wantonness, assembled amongst themselves, formed parties, and as idly changed their opinions; others met together in troops and separated again, without coming to any resolution, and all in general became afraid of the just anger of *Tamerlane*, whom they so lately had acknowledged for their prince. Whilst our infantry waited at *Calalia*, for the troops coming to join us from *Sachetay*, *Tamerlane* continued his march with the horse, which occasioned a report at *Cambalu*, that all our forces were coming against them, and augmented the terror of the giddy multitude, who only consider the present prosperity of their affairs, and never reflect that the events of this world are frequently different from the flattering appearances of them at the beginning.

*Calix* observing the people repent, and having advice the great cham did not approve of his conduct, retired from the capital of *Catay* to assemble his forces together, and put his whole fortune on the chance of a battle. There went with him from this place, twenty thousand of the inhabitants, and the garrison

rison which consisted of thirty thousand men, the officers and general that commanded them having joined in the revolt.

As this rebel did not neglect any thing that might contribute to his success, he solicited the *Muscovite*, to attack *Sachetay*, at the same time he took up arms; but the czar, instead of agreeing to his proposal, advised him to lay aside his design. I have often heard *Odmar* praise the *Muscovite* for keeping the peace with his master at this critical juncture; for if the *Russians* had entered at that time into *Sachetay*, the forces of this kingdom could not have come to the prince's assistance.

From this rebellion we may learn, that those who hold the helm of the republic, ought to have a watchful eye, on the discontents of the grandeys; for men in authority are easily dissatisfied, and always find turbulent spirits ready to join them and foment their discontents; therefore the slightest revolt ought not to be despised, but crushed if possible in its infancy.

The emperor sent the prince full powers, and troops came from all parts to join us,

C 4 and

and on the other side, the army of the rebels was in full vigour, but begun to want provisions, on account of a desert they had passed and some mountains possessed by a vassal of the great chām. This lord promised their leader to bring provisions to the army from *Cambalu*; but as soon as he saw *Calix* at a distance, and himself out of danger, raised his vassals, and by continually harrassing the rebels, reduced *Calix* in a short time to the necessity of fighting or retreating.

*Tamerlane* guarded all the fords of the river *Brior*, by which we had our provisions, and posted himself in a rich and fertile country, with the river *Oftan* in his front, and a lake of salt water in the rear. Here he waited the coming of the enemy, whose forces were augmented to fourscore thousand horse, and one hundred thousand foot, and amused them with skirmishes, but never came to a pitched battle, tho' our army increased to one hundred thousand horse, and two hundred thousand foot; for when a rebellion is come to a great height, it should be opposed by delay, for the moment rebels begin to want money and provisions, the multitude see their error and repent. We had staid in this camp two months, when want obliged the

the rebels to retreat towards *Cambalu*, and *Tamerlane* immediately after passed the river at *Chincy*, with a design of fighting *Calix*, to prevent his taking winter quarters in the capital of *Catay*, which would have put him under the necessity of besieging the town. The prince did not doubt of making himself master of the place, but he was afraid this great and opulent city would be pillaged and inevitably ruined, if taken by storm, and that the old soldiers becoming rich by the plunder, would no longer follow his ensigns.

It was reported that when *Calix* heard of our passing the river, he said to four or five of his friends, the *Parthians* have passed the river, and are advancing toward us. If *Tamerlane* who hath trifled so long, will at present fight, I cannot wish a better fortune; for if I conquer, *Sachetay* and the empire of *Tartary* will be mine, and if I am conquered, my name will be immortal for making the attempt, and having by the terror of my arms, constrained the high courage of *Tamerlane*, to hide itself between the rivers *Brior* and *Ostan*.

*Calix* was forty years old, and the most renowned captain of all the generals of the great chām; the first in rank and dignity in  
his

his court, and universally allowed to be a person worthy of the crown, till his glory was eclipsed by the reputation of *Tamerlane*. The prince offered to pardon him on condition of laying down his arms, which proposal he rejected; for having designed to rule, he would not obey, but preferred a short and glorious life, to a tedious old age with shame; and if we consider the thing impartially, he was not to blame in this point, for the desire of reigning is of so delicate a nature, that the prince against whom such an attempt is made never thinks himself safe, whilst the author of it is alive.

The next morning was employed by both parties, in giving directions to their generals, and ranging their armies in order on the field of battle, which was a large open plain, where the advantage was equal. At the first charge, we broke the lines of the rebels, and thought the victory secure, when by the common fault of pursuing the enemy too far, we gave *Calix* an opportunity to collect together a considerable body of horse, and attack us when our troops were in disorder, by which means he gave us so rude a blow, victory seemed to have changed sides; for the prince was unhorsed, and when remounted

mounted obliged to fight retreating; however, by the prudent conduct of the christian *Axalla* who commanded the rear-guard, our affairs changed once more, for he disengaged the prince, defeated the rebels, and took *Calix* prisoner. *Calix* and the rest of the chiefs we had taken, were kept in custody till the next day, when a council of war unanimously condemned them to be beheaded; which sentence was accordingly executed.

From the field of battle we moved towards *Cambalu*, and during our march thro' the fertile province of *Catay* the inhabitants of the lesser cities that had revolted presented themselves to the prince with great humility, and implored his pardon, which *Tamerlane* most graciously granted, and advised them to take care for the future, not to listen to those, who out of their own particular views and ambition, should endeavour to withdraw them from their duty to their lawful prince. This clemency quieted the minds of such, whose hopes were solely placed in dying with swords in their hands, which resolution the inhabitants of *Cambalu* had in particular taken; but hearing of *Tamerlane's* clemency, changed their design, tho' some of the most mutinous who expected to be punished, out of despair,

despair, endeavoured to draw on with their own, the destruction of the city.

Whilst our army advanced, *Tamerlane* had advice the town was resolved to submit to the conqueror; whereupon he ordered the army to encamp, and marched with a great body of horse, to *Cambalu*; which place he entered with a magnificent train, and pardoned the populace, but left the rest to the pleasure of the emperor \*. *Tamerlane* often appeared in public, with a shew of great mildness and clemency, and on all occasions honoured those, that had kept to their duty; and as he desired to gain the affection of this great city, would not do justice himself on the authors of the revolt of the town, or permit it to be done in his name, but sent one of his most trusty servants, to beg the favour of the emperor to take upon himself the punishment of these seditious persons, which the great chām granted.

\* The clemency of princes is often but a piece of policy to gain the affections of their subjects.  
*R. Maxims tr. from the Fr.*

*Novum imperium inchoantibus utilis clementiae fama.* Tac. an. 4. In the beginning of a reign, the reputation of clemency is serviceable.

After

After the prince had staid here eight days, and changed the garrison with a body of foot, he left the town, and received advice, on his return to the camp, that the emperor had ordered justice to be done on the authors of the revolt; which made the people praise the clemency of *Tamerlane*, and accuse the emperor of cruelty. Two hundred of the principal inhabitants were executed, and their heads set up in the market-place, for an example to all those that might have thoughts of rebelling against their prince.

In dangerous rebellions the prince ought to put himself at the head of his troops, and go into the provinces to incourage his friends, and strike a terror into his enemies; for these disturbers of the public peace, generally amuse the people with lies, which are dissipated by the presence of the prince, as the thickest fogs by the rays of the sun. He must act on such an occasion with prudence and courage, and when the rebels are subdued, take care to have justice executed on the delinquents, for such restless people are only to be kept to their duty by the fear of death. As for the authors of rebellions, they are always inconsiderate and rash men, whose eyes are blinded with ambition, or artful de-

The LIFE of  
signing men, who perceive a great appear-  
ance of success in their undertakings, as re-  
bellions often succeed against indolent princes,  
who are careless and negligent of their affairs,  
and generally against such as are poor-spirited  
and effeminate : For which reasons, a prince  
ought to have a strict eye over every thing  
that passes amongst his subjects, and his hand  
ready to punish the disobedient. The vigi-  
lance of our prince was well rewarded, for  
before this affair, he was only the shadow of  
an emperor, but by his address, he artfully  
fixed himself on the throne, and gained the  
reputation of being just and merciful.

But to return to my subject, *Odmar* ad-  
vanced with the army to meet the prince,  
and received him with great demonstrations  
of joy, officers and soldiers saluting him with  
the title of great and victorious emperor, ac-  
cording to the custom of the *Tartars*. *Tam-  
erlane* discoursed some time with his officers  
of the beauty and greatness of *Cambalu*, and  
then retired to his tent, where he recounted  
to *Odmar*, how all things had passed, and  
asked his opinion of his visit to the great  
cham, who was recovered and had invited  
him to court. *Odmar* perceived the prince's  
inclination to go to *Quinzay*, and that he would  
be

## TAMERLANE the GREAT. 31

be extremely glad to pass the winter there with the princess, and wait the return of the spring, before he went upon the expedition against the king of *China*; but as he was no flatterer, and as great a statesman, as faithful to his prince, he spoke in the following manner: " Invincible emperor, as you know how to conquer, learn how to make a good use of victory. It is six months since you left your army, which is employed in defending themselves against the forces of the king of *China*, and this army is mostly composed of *Tartars*, and the chief of that nation; do you not know that the *Tartars* and *Parthians* only think such princes worthy to command them, who lead them to the wars in person? On the other side you ought to consider, this war is undertaken to increase the glory of him who has chosen you for his heir, and called you to the throne; and that it is your duty, to show an affection for the service of the emperor. Nor should you forget the king of *China* is master of a great country that has been given to you; consider likewise that your glory will be more agreeable to the great *cham* at a distance, than near his throne; for at a distance, it shines on himself by the success of his affairs, but too near,

" casts a cloud on his fame : who can tell  
" what suspicions may arise in his breast ? re-  
" pentance often comes to those, that have  
" made men great ; princes are subject to  
" change. What honour will you get by this  
" journey ? you are not obliged to it by ne-  
" cessity, your reputation opposes it, and the  
" road to your glory lies a contrary way.  
" It is better to winter honourably under  
" tents with your soldiers, than in the mag-  
" nificent palaces of *Quinzay*, amidst the de-  
" lights of an effeminate court. Those that  
" hate you, will ask why you left your victo-  
" rious troops, and say you threaten the king  
" of *China* at a distance. When can you assem-  
" ble such an army again, as this you now  
" command ? for the *Parthians* by your ex-  
" ample will return to *Sachetay*, and the *Tar-*  
" *tars* to their hordes. Advance at present,  
" and you pave the way to a certain victory  
" over the *Chinese*, which may become diffi-  
" cult by the least delay. If I have offended  
" your majesty in speaking so boldly, do  
" with me as you think fit, I am your slave,  
" here is my head." *Tamerlane* was pensive  
and changed colour every moment, whilst  
*Odmar* recapitulated what he had said, and  
kissed the hem of his garment, according to  
our custom, in token of subjection and servi-  
tude.

tude. The prince answered, his noble sentiments had surprised and charmed him ; and he was truly sensible, he could never sufficiently reward him for his fidelity and affection; that he was more than ever convinced of his father's prudence, in chusing so worthy a counsellor to assist him\*, and now begun to know the duty of a sovereign is to make the good of his subjects his sole delight. That he thought no more of his journey, or the charms and pleasures of *Quinzay*, but would find a rest from his labours in the deserts of *Cipribit*.

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## C H A P. III.

*The war with the king of China.*

THE day after the prince's arrival in the camp, a general review of the army was ordered; and when the troops were assembled, *Tamerlane* thus addressed himself to them :

\* But what was still greater in him, (the great *Cyrus*) and more truly royal, was his stedfast persuasion, that all his labours and endeavours, ought to tend to the happiness of his people ; and that it was not by the splendour of riches, by pompous equipages, luxurious living, or a magnificent table, that

D a king

them : " My faithful soldiers, our march to  
" attack the *Chinese* hath been interrupted  
" by the foolish temerity of *Calix*, who  
" took up arms against his prince, and whom  
" fatal necessity obliged me to punish. I  
" have had a convincing proof of your affec-  
" tion and fidelity, on this unhappy occasion.  
" I am perfectly well acquainted with your  
" fatigues and sufferings, and hope, in a short  
" time, fully to reward the great merit of  
" my faithful soldiers ; but at present our  
" country demands assistance from us, and  
" our friends and fellow soldiers, who are  
" on the enemy's frontiers, expect we pass  
" the winter there ; you shall receive double  
" pay and warmer cloathing, the better to  
" secure yourselves against the rigour of the  
" season. Let us therefore march chearfully,  
" I will lead you, and be your companion in  
" glory." After he had finished his discourse,  
all the soldiers cried out, " One God in heaven,  
" and one emperor upon earth ;" and bowed

a king ought to distinguish himself from his subjects, but by a superiority of merit in every kind, and particularly by a constant and indefatigable care and vigilance to promote their interests, and secure the publick welfare and tranquility. *Rollin's Ant. hist. tr. from the Fr.*

them.

themselves in token of obedience, and to show his commands were agreeable to them.

The prince ordered *Samay* to return home, with twenty five thousand horse, and fifty thousand foot, and dispatched a Courier to acquaint the emperor with his intended march, and desire fifty thousand men, might be sent in the spring to recruit his army, money to pay it, and ammunition and provisions to fill his magazines. This news was very agreeable to the great chām, as the war was solely undertaken for the advantage of the *Tartars*, the loss of the provinces of *Pai-quinfu* and *Quifu*, being of the utmost consequence to them. For the king of *China* could enter into the country of the *Tartars*, whenever he pleased, but the *Tartars* could not undertake any thing against this prince without great forces, the *Chinese* having built a wall in the passes betwixt the mountains, forty leagues in length, which secured them against the incursions of the great chām's subjects.

In thirty-eight days march our army arrived at *Cipribit*, greatly fatigued; and the next day *Tamerlane* went to *Pasamfu*, and reviewed the forces commanded by *Calibes*,

that were there encamped. Whilst our troops staid here, the prince of *Tanais*, who commanded the vanguard, brought over to his master's interest, a *Chinese* lord that possessed a considerable territory in these mountains, called the lord of *Vauchefu*; which intrigue he carefully kept secret till the arrival of *Tamerlane*, and then only laid the affair before the prince, who highly approved of his conduct, and a few days after, had an interview with this nobleman, at the quarters of the prince of *Tanais*, near the river *Lanqueen*. *Tamerlane* made him presents of fine horses, excellent furs, and other choice things; and by his interpreter assured him of his friendship, promised to enlarge his territories, and take him under his protection. In return, *Vauchefu* assured him of his gratitude and fidelity, and promised to discover a passage, by which he might safely enter the kingdom of *China*, and attack the *Chinese*, who guarded the wall; and after a little pause addressed himself to the prince in the following manner: "Know, sir, that you lose your time in proposing by the force of your arms to take the wall which the *Chinese* have built to secure themselves against the incursions of your subjects; it is too dangerous to the defendants; I do not doubt

" of

“ of the courage of your troops, I know that  
“ with them you have subdued many na-  
“ tions, and at your command they die in  
“ their ranks ; but these things signify no-  
“ thing to the *Chinese* wall, which I assure  
“ you is guarded by fifty thousand men, and  
“ in a few days, the governor of *Xianxi* will  
“ arrive, with fifty thousand more ; the king  
“ of *China* will likewise come in a little time,  
“ to give you battle, and you will be oblig-  
“ ed to engage two hundred thousand horse  
“ and two hundred thousand foot. I believe  
“ your conduct and the courage of your  
“ troops will gain the victory, but it will  
“ cost you dear ; however, to convince you  
“ of my gratitude, for your great genero-  
“ sity, I will show you the means of enter-  
“ ing the kingdom of *China* with fifty thou-  
“ sand men, that I will conduct myself, and  
“ who shall be ready to attack those that  
“ guard the wall, as soon as perceived. I would  
“ have you make a false attack, at the same  
“ time, by seizing an opposite mountain I  
“ will show you, which will give great un-  
“ easiness to the *Chinese* ; and I am certain,  
“ as soon as your troops are passed with me,  
“ they will defend themselves faintly, and  
“ you may easily make yourself master of the  
“ wall. And to shew my fidelity in what I

“ have proposed, I will give in hostage my  
 “ only son, two young daughters, and my  
 “ wife; I have also a brother, who is ready  
 “ to follow me, for your service \*.” Every  
 thing relating to this affair being settled be-  
 twixt the prince and *Vauchefu*, *Tamerlane* sent  
 this lord home in an honourable manner, and  
 returned to his quarters, but kept the secret  
 from every body except *Odmar*.

The next day he called a council of war,  
 and ordered *Calibes* to give an account of  
 what was come to his knowledge, in regard  
 to the king of *China*’s preparations, and like-  
 wise his opinion of our enterprize. In obedi-  
 ence to the prince, he thus addressed him :  
 “ Sir, your slave is always ready to obey  
 “ you; and since you command me to give  
 “ an account of what I know, in regard to  
 “ the condition of the kingdom of *China*,  
 “ I shall take the liberty of acquainting you,  
 “ that the king who reigns at present, hath

\* It should seem that great enterprizes among us, are more impracticable than they were to the ancients ; it is very difficult to conceal them, because intelligence is become now so manageable, that every prince has ministers in each court, and traitors may possibly be lurking in all the cabinets of majesty. *Reflections on the causes of the grandeur and declension of the Romans*, transl. from the Fr.

“ gained

“ gained a great reputation by his conquests.  
“ He is proud and insolent, and obliges his  
“ subjects to stile him lord of the world. His  
“ principal strength consists in this wall,  
“ which is guarded by fifty or sixty thou-  
“ sand of this prince’s best troops, and  
“ which in my opinion is not to be forced  
“ without a great loss on your part. I have  
“ heard that near the lake *Hogeen*, the army  
“ may find a more easy entrance into the  
“ kingdom; but the time requisite for your  
“ numerous forces to march thither, will give  
“ the king of *China* an opportunity to put  
“ his affairs in a good posture, who at pre-  
“ sent thinks he has only to deal with me,  
“ and that I have orders to act defensively.  
“ This is all I know.” Every one having  
given their opinions, after *Calibes* had spoke,  
the prince answered, he hoped the great God  
whose unity he would maintain against these  
Idolaters, would supply all defects.

*Tamerlane* prepared every thing necessary  
for this enterprize, and expected with impa-  
tience the return of *Vauchefu*, who in a few  
days came with his brother to meet the  
prince, having found the pass easy to be  
forced. In this conference, it was resolved  
that the prince with his army should ap-

proach the wall over against *Quaquinfu*, and *Axalla* march with twenty thousand horse, and be followed by the prince of *Tanais*, at the head of thirty thousand, and each of them have one of these lords for a guide. After a march of ten leagues, these generals came to the pass, which they made themselves masters of, without opposition ; and having halted there sometime to refresh their troops, marched ten leagues more to the *Chinese*, who were fully employed in observing the army of the prince, which was approaching their wall, and did not suspect the least danger, till they perceived *Axalla* advancing towards them, followed by the prince of *Tanais*. The *Chinese* left part of their forces to defend the wall, and with the rest marched to meet *Axalla*, who without hesitating, attacked and routed them ; and at the same time, *Odmar*, who that day commanded the infantry, forced the wall. In this action, a kinsman of the king of *China* was taken prisoner, and great riches got, the *Chinese* having their arms and furniture of their horses covered with gold.

An account of the wall's being forced, was brought to the king at *Quantou*, which was matter of astonishment to every one, as it

it was thought a thing impracticable ; however, this prince, tho' accustomed to the smiles of fortune, behaved with courage on this occasion ; for he ordered solemn sacrifices to the gods, assembled his troops from all parts, and prepared every thing necessary for the defence of his country.

The prince to secure his retreat, demolished the forts and walls in the passes ; and to reward the signal service of the *Chinese* lord, made him governor of *Xianxi*, and gave him a small but convenient territory, in which was seven or eight cities, that brought their keys to the prince.

As the king of *China* had put good garrisons into all his strong places, the prince was afraid of attacking them, and to leave them behind us he foresaw would cause great difficulties in bringing provisions to the army ; therefore determined to take the opinion of his generals on this affair, who unanimously agreed to attack some remarkable city, where we might secure provisions for the army, and afterwards endeavour to bring the enemy to a battle. This, without doubt, is the business of the conqueror, as it is in most cases the duty of the prince who de-

The L I F E of  
defends himself carefully to avoid a general action, and take all opportunities of intercepting the enemy's convoys, and by continually harassing their army, endeavour to ruin them by distress and fatigues: For in such doubtful events as battles, when a general has posted his troops with great skill, and exhorted them to do their duty, he must leave the rest to fortune, who takes a particular delight in showing her capriciousness on these occasions, by frequently favouring the weakest, and deceiving those who are confident in their courage and conduct.

To return to my history. It being resolved to besiege *Paquinfu*, the prince detached *Odmar* with fourteen thousand horse, to summon the town. *Axalla*, who was made general of all the foot, followed with the infantry, and *Tamerlane* marched in the rear with the horse and machines. When *Odmar* came before the town, he seized abundance of cattle, and encamped, leaving the city betwixt his camp and our army, and as soon as the infantry appeared in the plain of *Paquinfu*, summoned the town to surrender to our emperor. The garrison and inhabitants answered, they would live and die faithful to their king; for forty years before this time, the father

father of the king of *China* took this town from the *Tartars*, turned out the inhabitants, and planted a new colony in their place.

The besieged defended themselves with vigour, for when we had beat down part of the wall with our rams and other machines, the *Chinese* begun an intrenchment behind it, twenty-two feet wide, and as many deep, of which *Tamerlane* having intelligence, refolved to storm the breach, before this new work was finished; and accordingly gave orders to *Axalla*, who had the direction of the siege. The next day *Axalla* attacked the breach, and made a lodgment on the rampart, by the express command of *Tamerlane*, who resolved to take the place by capitulation, to avoid the danger of being surprized by the enemy, when his troops were employed in pillaging the town, and the whole army in disorder.

Notwithstanding we were masters of the wall, the *Chinese* continued to defend themselves gallantly till the death of the governor, who was mortally wounded by the splinter of a beam, beat down by a boulet, from one of our machines, which accident determined the garrison and inhabitants to capitulate; to whom

whom were granted the following conditions. The garrison, which was reduced from thirty thousand men to eighteen thousand, were allowed to march out of the town, and the inhabitants permitted to stay, or retire where they pleased. The siege lasted two months.

The king of *China* received advice of the taking of the town, from the garrison, who met him on his march to raise the siege, and punished the officers, but pardoned the soldiers, and resolved to encamp at the place where he heard the news.

Our prince made a general review of the army, which was diminished ten thousand men, augmented the soldiers pay, and gratified every one according to his merit. The honour of taking the town was given to *Axalla*, on whom was bestowed the government of the place, and conquered country, for which this general returned the prince thanks, but most humbly begged he would be pleased to give this employment to another, for he had fixed all his hopes and desires in following his master. This answer was very agreeable to the prince, who offered it solely as an acknowledgment for his services, and upon *Axalla's* refusal, gave this government to  
the

the prince of *Tanais*, with the title of vice-roy, and left with him a considerable body of troops to preserve this new conquest, and convoy provisions to the army. The prince having refreshed his troops eight days at *Paquinfu*, and finished all his affairs at this place, appointed a day for solemnly offering our prayers to God, and the next marched towards the enemy, who was encamped at *Sintebu*.

It was reported, that as soon as the king of *China* received intelligence, our army had passed the river *Chulifu*, he changed his resolution of acting on the defensive, and commanded his troops to hold themselves in readiness to fight; for he was resolved not to wait till the enemy advanced further into the country, that he might not behold the intire ruin of his subjects. This order demonstrates that imprudence and ill fortune directed this prince's council; for if he had spun the war into length, he would have had a great advantage over us, as he was master of many strong towns, which we must have besieged, and which would have ruined our army, for the prudence of our prince would not permit him to leave any place behind us, that might cut off our convoys.

*Teauche-*

Teuchevoy having surrendered to us on our march, we encamped in the neighbourhood of that city, where was plenty of water and good pastures, and the country a fine champaign, for our cavalry to act commodiously. The next day *Odmar* was sent to get intelligence of the enemy, who returned with certain advice, that the *Chinese* army was but one day's march from us, upon which the prince commanded the army to advance a league nearer the enemy, and took all the prudent measures of a good general.

The following day before noon, we had advice, that the enemy was marching in order of battle to attack us, and the prince with a chearful countenance, and gay air, ranged his army in order, commanded *Calibes* to advance with thirty thousand horse, and directed him to retire as the enemy advanced, and gradually draw them to the place he had chosen for the field of battle. Our infantry supported by all the machines, was posted at the foot of a great mountain, in such a manner as they could only be attacked in front, which part of our army was composed of one hundred and twenty thousand men, most of them armed after the manner of the christians,

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tians, and commanded by different captains, but all obeyed the orders of *Axalla*. Our horse consisted of fourscore thousand men, drawn up in an open plain, having the foot on their left, and the enemy on the right; so that upon the least disadvantage they could retire to the infantry and rally. *Calibes* commanded the vanguard, composed of thirty thousand *Scythians*, and *Odmar* was at the head of thirty thousand *Parthian* horse, which were to sustain the others. The prince commanded in person the rear-guard, which consisted of twenty thousand chosen horse, and posted himself at one of the wings of the infantry, his design being to begin the action with sixty thousand horse, commanded by two good generals, and in case they were repulsed, join his infantry to the rear-guard, and renew the charge.

The *Chinese* advanced toward us with great pomp and magnificence. Their king rode in a chariot which was almost covered with gold, diamonds, rubies and pearls; for this prince had been brought up in the voluptuousness of a court, and not under the dusty ensigns of *Mars*, who is covered with iron, rough and bold. The *Chinese* had neither van-guard or main battle, but all their horse

drawn up in one line, which covered the rest of their army, and the person of the king, who had his post in the centre, surrounded with the infantry and a double row of chariots.

The prince advanced with six thousand horse, to view the enemy as they marched towards us, and having observed them some time, commanded *Calibes* to attack the *Chinese* in form, as he judged them advanced near enough to us, and would not give them an opportunity to take breath, or put themselves in their first order. The engagement had lasted a full hour when *Calibes* was wounded, the *Scythians* defeated, and their general obliged to retire to the prince, who ordered him, and the rest of the wounded, to be carried behind the infantry and dressed. *Odmar* advanced next to the combat with the *Parthian* horse, who treated the enemy more roughly; for he pierced them quite thro', and then bravely turned upon their right wing and drove them to their chariots. In this emergency the king of *China* advanced, which gave his broken cavalry an opportunity to rally, and *Odmar* remained in order of battle, facing the enemy, and sent to demand some infantry and machines of the prince.

Tamerlane who was advancing, halted, and sent him fifty thousand foot, and part of the machines; and ordered *Axalla*, who commanded them, to attack the chariots, and endeavour there to make an opening. *Axalla* marched with the machines in his front, which overturned every thing, and made great confusion amongst the enemy; which *Axalla* observing, attacked sword in hand the infantry, about the person of the king; and *Odmar* during this attack, charged the cavalry that had rallied, and totally defeated them. At this juncture the prince marched with the rest of the infantry, to the assistance of *Axalla*, and pierced almost to the king, who had yet about his person forty thousand men, and himself inclosed within a second row of chariots. Here the battle was fought with great obstinacy, till a little before night, when the king was taken prisoner, the battle won, and the enemy's camp plundered. Two kings allies to the king of *China*, were taken prisoners, and one killed; and the riches taken in gold, plate and precious stones inestimable, besides the most magnificent chariots the world afforded. The prince did not see his royal prisoner till the next day, being employed in going thro' the field of battle, to put a stop to the slaughter, and see the guards placed; however he ordered *Axalla* to take

care that this prince's wound, which he had received in his arm, was dressed, and that he was treated as a king. The enemy lost near sixty thousand men on the field of battle.

The prince continued on horseback, till two hours after midnight, and when he came to his tent ordered a slight supper, and some water to be brought him, and afterwards lay down upon a carpet, and passed the rest of the night \*. I attended him all the time, and did not hear him speak one boasting word on this occasion; indeed he blamed the king of *China*, for refusing to restore what was his just right, and said to *Odmar*, who was also with him, “God had that day led him by the hand, and given him a glorious victory, without the loss of any person of distinction.”

\* *Cæsar's* reflections after the battle of *Pharsalia*, mentioned in the 374th spectator: “ My part is now but begun, and my glory must be sustained by the use I make of this victory; otherwise my loss will be greater than that of *Pompey*. Our personal reputation will rise or fall, as we bear our respective fortunes. All my private enemies shall be spared. I will forget this, to obtain such another day.” Sentiments truly great and heroic, had he conquered in the cause of liberty and his country.

In the morning he ordered his royal pavilions to be set up, his guards posted, and the principal officers of the army to attend him, and whilst these things were getting ready, publickly returned thanks to God for the victory, gave orders to bury the dead, and enquired with great humanity after the wounded. All things being in order, the prince commanded *Axalla* to bring the captive king to his quarters, and went out of his tent to meet him. The king of *China* advanced with a haughty and intrepid air, and by an interpreter thus addressed the prince : “ My gods, angry with my people, “ and enraged at my good fortune, have “ made me thy prisoner : As fame reports, “ *Tamerlane* fights for glory ; he ought to be “ satisfied with the honour of having in his “ power, the lord of the world, and son of “ the sun.” The prince received him with great politeness, and by the same interpreter answered, “ That he returned thanks to the “ immortal God, for the victory he had “ been pleased to bestow upon him ; as the “ king, on the contrary, attributed the cause “ of his misfortunes to the gods he adored ; “ however, his majesty might depend upon “ being treated with honour and respect.” For

which the king returned him thanks, and then *Tamerlane* conducted him into his tent, invited him to sit down, and talked familiarly with him.

This prince was about thirty-three years of age, his face long, large black eyes, nose middle sized, a long beard and grave air, and kept up extremely well the majesty of a great king. And certainly we must allow the kings of *China* to be powerful princes; there being in this kingdom, two hundred great cities, and fifteen large provinces, each of which has a governor. The mines of gold are very considerable in this country, which is called in the *Chinese* tongue, *Tama*; and the people *Tangis*; and the second person of the kingdom is the governor general, who is called *Tutan*, which high office was enjoyed at this time, by the brother of the captive king. This temperate region abounds in fish, and variety of birds, on account of the great number of running streams that water the country; the quantity of silk is so considerable, that with it the meanest of the people cloath themselves, and cottons and linnens are likewise here in great plenty.

The prince assembled his council to consider what was to be done with the prisoners, and how to make the best use of his victory, as he had received advice from *Odmar*, that the king's brother was fled to *Quantou*, and there rallied the dispersed forces. It was resolved, after our troops were refreshed, to besiege *Quantou*, and send the prisoners under a guard of two thousand horse to *Burda*, a city on the *Tartar* frontier, which had always been faithful to the *Scythian* emperors. The prince dispatched couriers to the emperor and *Parthians*, to inform them of the great victory he had obtained, with a small loss on his side, and to hasten the march of forty thousand foot he expected from *Sachetay*, and thirty thousand *Scythian* horse, that they might arrive before the forces of the king of *China* could be in a condition to make head against him.

Tho' the loss of this battle ought to have inspired the *Chinese* with fresh courage for the defence of their country, yet the mildness of their conqueror, who treated their king and all the prisoners with great humanity, prevailed over the prudent admonitions of

the governor general, and made them resolve to bear with patience the evils befallen them \*. This resolution I chiefly attribute to the rule *Tamerlane* laid down to himself of keeping his word, with the utmost exactness, and not to be guilty of a breach of his faith, tho' by maintaining this maxim he should be in danger of losing his empire; for a report of his great honour in this point being spread amongst these people, the moment *Tamerlane* gave them his word, they thought themselves in safety.

To return to my subject, the prince having settled all his affairs, and distributed mo-

\* Such candour and greatness of soul raises a prince above his high station, and strikes mankind with love and reverential awe. And this, amidst his other virtues, makes a great monarch of the present age the darling of his subjects.

The following saying is inscribed to *John king of France*; " Though faith and truth were banished from the rest of the world, they ought nevertheless, to be preserved in the mouths of kings." *Rapin's History of England, tr. by Tindal.*

*Plutarch* makes the following remark upon *Alexander's* taking a town by capitulation, and afterwards putting the garrison to the sword. " This one breach of his word was a perpetual blemish to him, tho' on all other occasions he had managed his wars with that justice and honour that became a king." *Life of Alexander the Great, tr. by Eve'jn.*

ney to the officers for the use of the sick and wounded, our army marched to besiege *Quantou*; and the governor general having rallied the king's forces resolved to raise the siege or fight a second battle, and with this intention marched directly to *Porchio*, there to make a bridge of boats over the river that runs to *Quantou*. The prince having intelligence of his design, cast up a strong entrenchment at the head of the bridge: we had at this place left four thousand men to guard it, and as soon as the enemy approached, appeared in order of battle, on the opposite side of the river. The governor general made a feint of forcing the passage for some days, till he had got together a great number of boats, and made a bridge at *Cambin*, ten leagues from *Porchio*, where the river was not of so great a breadth. *Tamerlane* kept quiet in his camp, till our spies brought word the bridge was finished, and then commanded *Odmar* to march at the head of the army with fifteen thousand horse, and attack those that had passed the river; the infantry followed *Odmar*, and the prince having left a good garrison in *Porchio*, brought up the rear with the rest of the horse. The engagement was very bloody, there being upwards of twenty thousand men, strongly posted behind a morass, with the river on

their flank, who defended themselves with great bravery, till our infantry pushed them from the bank of the river, and posted themselves there; which gave us an opportunity of destroying their bridge, and depriving them of any assistance. The bad success of this last action determined the garrison and inhabitants of *Quantou* to demand permission of *Axalla* to acquaint the governor general with the state of their affairs; and promised that if they received no succours in fifteen days, to surrender the town, provided the prince would grant them the same privileges they enjoyed under the kings of *China*. *Axalla* dispatched a faithful friend to carry this good news to the prince, who left every thing concerning the town to his prudence, and two days after passed the river with his horse, to prevent the enemy from throwing succours into the place.

As soon as our troops were passed, the governor general retreated with the utmost precipitation, into a mountainous country of difficult access for cavalry, and there assembled the grandees of the kingdom, to consider what was fit to be done on this occasion, who unanimously agreed to offer a considerable sum of money for the ransom of their king, and to demand peace for the

pre-

preservation of what remained in their possession; and accordingly ambassadors were named and passports obtained.

At this time *Quantou* surrendered to *Axalla*, which city is great, beautiful, well fortified, and full of people, and round about it a fertile country. Our army lay before the town two months, during which time we lost so great a number of men by sickness, that the troops we expected were absolutely necessary, before we attempted any thing further.

The prince sent me to *Axalla* with orders for him to remain here, and send the infantry to rejoin the army. I found this general very busy in repairing the walls, and endeavouring to conciliate the minds of the inhabitants to the new government; for not one of them went away with the governor of the king of *China*, but all in general submitted to the conqueror. The inconstancy of these people, who in a moment forgot a king and his ancestors, by whom they had been governed above two hundred years with great justice, furnishes me with the following observation: That those who govern should always endeavour to gain the love of the people, but not confide intirely in it.

In

In a conference with *Axalla*, he desired me to tell our master, that he was afraid this giddy multitude would change again if we received the least loss, therefore wished the prince would make a peace before his army was entirely ruined. These things, and the fear of discontents and seditions in his own dominions, which a long absence frequently causes, made the prince think seriously of peace. He considered, that by preserving his conquests, and making the king tributary for the rest, he should always keep these people in order, and be in a condition to punish their inconstancy, whenever they gave him occasion.

The *Chinese* ambassadors being arrived at our camp, had audience of the prince, and acquainted him, that the occasion of their coming, was to treat for the liberty of their king, and peace for their country; and said they sincerely repented satisfaction was not given him at the first coming of his army; that at present, they came to receive the law of the conqueror. The prince answered by his interpreter, that peace was always more agreeable to him than war, and he willingly granted it to them, for he only made war, to obtain an honourable peace. The condi-

tions they offered, were to give up *Paquinfu*, all the country about it, and the fortresses in the mountains, pay all the expences of our army, from the day that the answer was given to our ambassadors by the king of *China*, and two millions of gold, for the ransom of their king. To these propositions *Tamerlane* answered, That he would keep every thing he was in possession of in the country, being lawfully his, as acquired by his arms ; and the river where he was encamped, should be the boundary. That the king of *China* should reimburse his expences, and pay him yearly three hundred thousand crowns at *Paquinfu*, as an acknowledgement of his being tributary as well for himself as his successors, and likewise send his brother and twelve of the principal persons of his kingdom, every year to that city when the tribute was paid, as a surety of peace. The *Chinese* were brought so low, that they were glad to hear we would leave them what yet remained in their possession, so firmly did they believe all lost, disasters coming upon them from all parts, their best men dead, and those that remained, quite dispirited, their king a prisoner, two battles lost, two of the chief cities of the kingdom taken, and the most difficult passes forced ; for which reasons, they accepted the conditions

tions of peace the conqueror offered them, in hopes, that time and opportunity would restore their ancient liberty.

The prince sent two thousand horse to bring back the king of *China*, that being at liberty, he might solemnly swear to the peace at *Paquinfu*, where the prince desired him to come. The king brought with him from *Pekin*, his eldest son and brother, amongst the hostages, and the treaty was ratified with great solemnity; and as soon as this important affair was finished, the prince dispatched a courier, to acquaint the great *cham* with the happy success of our affairs. When this news arrived at the emperor's court, many said on this occasion, we had lost a fair opportunity of making ourselves intire masters of the kingdom of *China*\*, but

\* Plutarch makes the following remark upon the *Thebans* being struck out of the general peace amongst the *Grecians* by *Ageſilaus*: “ That this war was undertaken more by passion than judgment, the event did prove, for the treaty was finished the fourteenth of *May*, and the *Lacedæmonians* received their great overthrow at *Leuctræ* the fifth of *June*. *Life of Ageſilaus*, trans. by Needham.

*Ageſilaus* was esteemed a stubborn refractory man, and insatiable of war. And all this to retrieve the poor

## TAMERLANE the GREAT. 61

but these court critics did not consider the difficulties we had still to encounter, and that it was better to be satisfied with a part, which might easily be preserved, than push things to extremity; for in this case, such unforeseen events oftentimes arise, as occasions the loss of the whole. The prince was king of *China* in effect, having in his possession, two of the finest cities in the kingdom, a great number of the lesser order, and one hundred leagues of country. His conquests were bounded by a river, of which he was master, and by which, he could easily enter the enemy's country; but the *Chinese* could not attack us, without passing the river by force, which was not difficult to guard.

The prince left *Odmar* to command in *Chi-na*, with thirty thousand horse, and fifty thousand foot; and recommended to his care

poor city of *Messenia*, after he had lost so great an empire, both by sea and land, as the *Spartans* were possessed of, when he came to the crown. *Needham's transl.*

The fatal battle of *Pultowa*, and all the misfortunes that attended it, were the consequences of the king of *Sweden's* obstinacy, in refusing honourable proposals of peace, offered to him by the czar of *Muscovy*.

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the Chinese lord, who had shown so much zeal for his service, and whose brother he took with him to *Sachetay*, and there gave him a good estate. When *Odmar* took leave of the prince, he bowed so very low, that *Tamerlane* in raising him up, said : “ I see thou art at present become a Chinese, for thou adores me as they do their king. The adoration I would have from thee, is the performance of my orders. I desire to have the worship of God established in my new conquests, and after that my authority. Thou knowest this country, and these people, better than me, remember always they have been conquered by the sword, and do not expect to find those faithful, whom fear, not affection, keeps in obedience. I wish thee well.”

Our army, in which were a great many sick, set out on their return, and the third day’s march, we had news of the forces that were coming to join us, whom *Tamerlane* ordered to *Cambalu*, the emperor being on his journey for that place, to receive his nephew. *Odmar* being separated from the prince, *Axalla* became his principal favourite, to whom he gave the command of his army, and granted

granted appointments of two thousand crowns a year.

*Tamerlane* having advice of the emperor's arrival at *Cambalu*, put his army into quarters of refreshment, in a fine country, and continued his journey to that place, near which he was met by the emperor on horseback, who received the prince with great joy and affection, and afterwards called for his daughter, whose chariot coming up, the great chām went into his own, and ordered the princess to come to him. *Tamerlane* made a present to the emperor of the richest chariots and finest horses he had taken from the enemy, gave an advantageous account of every one's behaviour, and presented *Calibes* to him, who was rewarded with one hundred thousand crowns addition to his pension. *Axalla* was also presented to the old prince, who being informed of his courage and conduct, received him in a most gracious manner, and assigned him on the revenue of the empire, a pension of one hundred thousand gold *Tartarines*, and further rewarded him with a principality, to show his services were highly valued.

## C H A P. IV.

*The war against Bajazet, emperor of the Turks.*

EMANUEL the Greek emperor sent ambassadors to *Tamerlane* at *Cambalu*, to propose a treaty of alliance, and desire his assistance against *Bajazet* emperor of the *Turks*, who was preparing to besiege *Constantinople*; which treaty was agreed to by our prince, who immediately after sent ambassadors to desire *Bajazet* not to molest the *Greek* emperor, his ally. *Bajazet* demanded of the ambassadors, what business *Tamerlane* had with his affairs? and bid them tell their master, he must not think of imposing laws on him, who was not born his subject; which answer was so highly resented by the prince, that he dismissed the *Greek* ambassadors, with assurances of assistance, and sent *Axalla* into *Sachetay*, to assemble his forces, and have them ready to march the following spring. *Tamerlane* obtained of the emperor for this war, fourscore thousand horse, and one hundred thousand foot, and expected as great an army from *Sachetay*; twenty thousand men of his new subjects, commanded by the *Chinese*

nese lord, fifteen thousand Muscovite horse, and also the assistance of many great lords, who intended to follow him with their vassals as volunteers. With these formidable forces he hoped to deliver *Emanuel* from the tyranny of *Bajazet*, who had lately defeated the *Greeks*, and reduced their affairs to a very bad condition.

*Axalla* having acquainted the prince, that every thing was ready, he departed for the army, leaving the princess with her father, as a consolation to him, in his old age. We were conducted from *Cambalu*, by the whole town, with all the marks of affection a loyal people could shew to their prince, who indeed deserved this attachment, by his noble and generous behaviour to all around him. For in his court poverty was not any disadvantage to men of merit. On the contrary, whenever he heard of any man, remarkable for his virtue and wisdom, this prince would send for him, converse familiarly with him, and say, My friend, permit me to give thee a share of my fortune, and do thou bestow part of thy wisdom on me, a treasure of much more value than mine.

*Tamerlane* made *Axalla* lieutenant general of his army, the prince of *Tanais* general of the foot, and gave to *Calibes* the command of the rear guard; and having made these promotions, left his forces at *Ozara*, which was the general rendezvous of the army, and went to *Samarcand*, the place of his birth, and there staid a month.

\* The *Othomans* at this time, not only gave jealousy to their neighbours by the success of their arms, but astonished the world with their sudden greatness, being come in a little time, from a mean beginning, to a great empire; and as they were a people without faith or honour, the prince resolved to attack them in their new conquests, and not wait till they

\* When princes make oaths and treaties subservient to their conveniency, they become odious to good men, and justly suspected of their neighbours, who take all opportunities of humbling them, as the only means of guarding themselves against men who have neither faith or honour.

When *Phæbidas* the *Spartan*, in full peace, did very dishonourably seize upon *Cadmea*, a castle belonging to *Thebes*, the thing was much stomached by all *Greece*. *Plutar. life of Agesilaus, trans. by Needham.*

Whilst *Agesilaus* was attempting the conquest of *Thebes*, and destruction of *Messene*, he had almost lost *Sparta* itself, but did really lose the government of *Greece*. *Needham's trans.*

came

came to terminate the dispute betwixt them on his territories, and at his expence. *Tamerlane* acted in this manner by the advice of *Axalla*, who then governed every thing, which raised envy and jealousy in the grandees of the court; but he had done so many services, and had so happy a manner of pleasing accompanied with great honour, that he maintained himself against all those who envied him, and was in as high favour with the old emperor as his master. With this great authority, *Axalla* was courteous, humane and ready to serve every body, had no little views of his own, but constantly proposed great and honourable enterprizes to his master, and surpassed all the princes that attended *Tamerlane*, in magnificence and generosity. I was one day present when the prince reprimanded him for his too great humility; to which he answered, That it was his master who was to act the great man, and his business to shew he was a slave and a servant; that as a majestic deportment was becoming in the prince, so humility was decent in him; and added, "It is of no consequence what part I act, be it humble or serious, provided I serve you well. If I behaved with haughtiness, I should become odious to the grandees of your court,

" and you would lose their affection, I  
" would have them respect me, for being a  
" good servant, and not for my looks."

Upon advice that *Bajazet* was marching to *Constantinople*, and already advanced into the lesser *Asia*, *Tamerlane* returned to *Ozara*, and called a council of war, where it was resolved to march by the streights of *Capha*, *Trebisond* and *Georgia*; and that way enter the territories of the *Othomans*; and this resolution taken, a kinsman of *Axalla* was dispatched, to acquaint the *Greek* emperor with our coming to his assistance.

After the accustomed ceremonies and prayers to God, we marched to *Maranis*, where the army staid three days for the forces commanded by the *Chinese* lord, and the *Muscovite* troops that were upon their march to join us; and during this time, the prince ordered a prodigious quantity of provisions, and all our heavy baggage, to be sent by the *Caspian* sea, we being obliged to march twenty leagues thro' a desert, where was neither provisions nor fresh water.

The

The prince staid at *Sarafich*, till his army passed the river \* *Edel* at *Mechet*, on bridges of boats, and there we had advice of *Bajazet*'s march to besiege *Constantinople*, having reduced all *Bythinia*, and fortified *Bursa*. This prince exercised all sorts of cruelties in the towns and countries that he conquered, which terrified their neighbours in such a manner, that they voluntarily submitted to be tributary to him. Amongst others, the city of *Capha* paid him tribute, which highly offended the prince, who sent *Axalla*, a native of the place, and descended from the house of the *Paliologi*, to summon the inhabitants to come and give an account of their conduct. The people in great consternation at this order, sent the principal persons of the town, to assure him that the necessity of the times obliged them to become tributary to *Bajazet*, for fear worse evils might befall them; and *Tamerlane*, satisfied with this excuse, gave the towns of *Capha*, *Tana*, *Acbees* and *Lopeso*, with their territories, to *Axalla*, who received this bounty with great satisfaction, as here he proposed to fix his retreat, and enjoy the fruits of his labours.

\* *Volga.*

The desire of this lord to finish his days were he received his birth, gives us a lively instance, that there is not any thing so dear to mankind as their native country; for we might have imagined *Axalla* at the height of his wishes in *Tamerlane's* court, yet we see him prefer the narrow banks of the *Palus Meotis*, to the extensive bounds of *Scythia* and *China*, and all the grandeur that attended his high fortune.

As we approached the holy mountains, the *Circassians* and *Georgians* received us with great courtesy, and brought provisions for the army, and likewise, by the persuasions of *Axalla*, a great number of their youth entered into the service of the prince, they being much esteemed for their courage and strength; and have often repulsed the *Ottoman* forces by their bravery, and the advantageous situation of their country, which is of difficult access.

The prince highly pleased with the generosity of these people, gave particular orders, not to do them any damage; and his commands were so well obeyed, and discipline so exactly observed, not only here, but during the whole

## TAMERLANE the GREAT. 71

whole march, that none of the people thro' whose territories we passed, received the least damage; for if a soldier pulled an apple he was certain of being punished with death; and to this I attribute, in some measure, the success of our expedition; for we were assisted every where with all sorts of provisions. Here we had certain intelligence of the siege of *Constantinople*.

We rested at *Bachichick* eight days, where ambassadors came from *Guines*, a Persian prince, and presented fine horses to *Tamerlane*, and in the name of their master, assured him of success in his undertaking, for *Guines* pretended to prophecy, and was a celebrated astrologer; and the prince in return, sent him a considerable quantity of fine furs, and some vessels of gold. Whilst we encamped here, a general review of the army was made, their arrears paid, and the troops performed their exercise before the prince, that he might judge how military discipline was observed, in which he was very exact; and upon these days talked familiarly with the soldiers, and exhorted them to do their duty.

From *Bachichick* we marched to *Busabuick*, where *Axalla*, whom we had not seen in eight

F 4 days,

days, came to wait on the prince, with the agreeable news, that *Bajazet* had raised the siege of *Constantinople*, to defend his new conquests, and drawn all his forces out of *Greece*, with an intention to give us battle. We staid three days at *Bujabuich*, where the prince gave orders to have the frontiers well guarded, and the troops nearest the enemy always on horseback; which certainly was acting with great prudence, for when princes are upon the point of trying such uncertain events as battles, they ought to secure with great care what they have in possession, lest, in case of a defeat, the victorious enemy pursuing his good fortune, should totally ruin the affairs of the vanquished, there being no means of stopping the career of the conqueror, or any place of safety to which the conquered can retreat. *Tamerlane* likewise assembled all his officers of distinction, to acquaint them with his designs, and have their opinions, which compliment he constantly paid them before an action, and as we had troops of different nations in our army, and many great generals that came as our allies, to these *Tamerlane* was particularly affable, with them he laid aside his gravity, and gave them entertainments where we rested.

From

From *Busabuich*, we marched to *Gianich*, having passed the *Euphrates* at *Garga*, and here we received advice, that *Bajazet's* army was but thirty leagues from us. All the towns on our rout that surrendered immediately, were treated with great goodness, but the *Turkish* inhabitants of those that refused to submit, were severely punished, and the Christians set at liberty in the name of the *Greek* emperor, it being *Tamerlane's* design to restore this prince to every thing the *Ottomans* had taken from him in *Asia*, and chastise *Bajazet* for his horrid cruelties, and attacking his ally unjustly.

The army, full of joy and hopes, marched from *Gianich*, and *Axalla*, who commanded the vanguard, ordered four thousand *Parthian* horse, under the command of the prince of *Ciarcian*, to get intelligence of the enemy, which this general effected by surprizing of *Sanas*, for there he was informed, that the *Turkish* army was encamped at *Tabya*. The prince upon this advice, resolved to wait for the enemy in the fine plains where he was encamped, which were fit for his order of battle; for tho' our army was more numerous than *Bajazet's*, it was composed

posed of many different nations, which obliged *Tamerlane* to act with great caution, as he had not to fight against the *Chinese*, a soft effeminate people, but soldiers accustomed to battles and stratagems of war.

*Bajazet's* army making a motion to surround our detachment, the prince of *Ciarcian* set fire to the place, and retreated to a valley covered with wood; and a body of two thousand horse being detached from the *Othoman* army, in pursuit of our troops, the *Partbian* general let them pass, then charged the *Turks* in the rear, routed them, and took the bashaw of *Natolia* who commanded the detachment prisoner. When this general was presented to the prince, *Tamerlane* asked him, if he thought *Bajazet* intended to give him battle? to which the bashaw answered, there is not any thing he desires so much; and begged the favour to assist his lord on that day. To which the prince said, "I give thee leave; " and tell thy lord, thou hast seen me, and "that I shall fight on horseback, in the place "where he will see the green standard."

*Bajazet* being encamped the next day at a league's distance from us, the following night seemed tedious to our whole army, who employed

ploied themselves in reasoning according to their inclinations and passions. The *Scythians* greedy of gain, hoped to get great riches by the victory over the *Othomans*. The *Parthians*, ambitious of rule and dominion, and proud of the honour and glory of their nation, flattered themselves with conquering the only people that could dispute with them the empire of *Asia*, and the Christians assured themselves of being victorious over their most inveterate enemy. The prince went privately round the camp, listning to these things, and joyful to hear that the whole army had hopes of gaining the victory. I attended him, and he did me the honour to tell me, that the night before the battle with the *Muscovites*, he did not perceive any body slept, but sung songs all the night, "This, said the prince, at "that time, flattered me with hopes of success, "and I have the same agreeable pleasure at "present."

After the second watch, *Tamerlane* returned to his tent, and laid himself down on a carpet to sleep, but the important busines of the next day not permitting him to close his eyes, he ordered me to give him a book that contained the lives of his ancestors, and other great men, in which he read an account  
of

of his grandfather's losing a battle to the *Persians*, by attacking the enemy imprudently, and solely confiding in the valour of his troops. When he had finished this part of his grandfather's history, he commanded me to read it to him again, at the same time saying, he always read this passage before a battle, that he might by his prudence and temper avoid falling into an error equally fatal as that committed by his grandfather, who being encamped in an advantageous place, quitted it to attack the enemy, who was strongly posted, and notwithstanding the remonstrances made against it by his faithful servants, was deaf to their good counsel. Then asking if it was day, called the chief chamberlain, and gave him orders to send for *Axalla*, and the other principal officers, with whom he consulted a little time, then got on horseback, and commanded every body to mount.

At this instant, advice was brought that the enemy advanced in order of battle; upon which *Tamerlane* detached three thousand horse to skirmish with the *Othomans*, whilst he viewed their order. The *Turkish* infantry called janissaries were in the centre, and on the right and left wing a good body of horse, and another great body of horse, more advanced,

vanced, covered the janissaries, and a second line of common foot. These janissaries are a body of faithful soldiers, brought up in military exercises from their youth, the finest and strongest men that can be found, indifferently chosen out of all nations in their infancy, and esteemed invincible, from being educated together. Of these there were thirty thousand, in whom *Bajazet* placed his greatest hopes. Our army was drawn up in the following manner. The advanced guard consisted of forty thousand horse of our best troops in the centre, and fifty thousand foot in each wing, the horse commanded by the prince of *Ciarcian*, and the foot by lord *Synopes* of *Genoa*. The vanguard was composed of fifty thousand horse, commanded by *Axalla*, the main battle consisted of fourscore thousand horse, led by the prince, and sustained by one hundred thousand foot, commanded by the prince of *Tanais*. The rear-guard consisted of forty thousand horse, and fifty thousand foot, commanded by *Calibes*.

Every thing being disposed in order, we waited quietly in our posts the coming of the *Othomans*, who advanced with a great noise. The forty thousand horse commanded by the prince of *Ciarcian*, were totally defeated,  
after

after they had routed the body of horse that covered the janissaries, and pierced into the middle of that formidable infantry, where *Bajazet* fought in person, and where the prince of *Ciarcian* gloriously died. Upon this the prince ordered *Axalla* to move ; who charged one of the wings of the enemy's army, cut it to pieces, and without amusing himself with the run-aways, ordered the infantry to join him, and attacked the janissaries. The combat had lasted an hour, when the prince perceiving his foot begin to give ground, ordered the fatigued troops to move to the right and left, and the infantry under the command of the prince of *Tanais* to advance. This body of fresh men attacked the janissaries with great fury, who had already supported the whole burthen of the day, and whom we conquered solely by numbers, for they performed all that men are capable of doing, to save the person of their prince. The troops of the prince of *Ciarcian* being rallied, *Tamerlane* joined them to his vanguard, and ordered *Axalla* to attack the enemy on the right, whilst he attacked them on the left, which compleated the victory. *Bajazet* being wounded, retreated out of the body of the janissaries, and was taken prisoner by *Axalla*.

To

To the good conduct of *Tamerlane*, and his prudent method of wearying the *Othoman* troops, we owed the victory, for if our whole force had acted together, the great multitude would have thrown every thing into confusion; but by this manner of succouring his troops, he made every one useful, and like a great captain, judged exactly of the proper time to give this assistance. The despot of *Servia*, a christian, was taken prisoner, and received very kindly by the prince, who modestly complained of that prince's fighting for *Bajazet* against him, who came to assist the *Greek* emperor. The despot answered, it was not his inclination, but the prosperity of *Bajazet*, to whom every thing submitted, which obliged him for his own safety to take up arms in his favour. *Tamerlane* satisfied with this excuse, gave him his liberty.

*Bajazet*'s wound being dressed, he was brought before the conqueror, and asked, why, without reason or justice, he endeavoured to bring under his subjection the emperor of *Greece*? To which he answered, The desire of glory and dominion. But why, said the prince, did you act with so much cruelty, neither sparing age or sex? I do this, replied

*Bajazet*, to give a greater terror to my enemies. *Tamerlane* displeased with these savage answers, ordered him to be taken away, and turning to his officers said, See there a proud and insolent man, who deserves to be cruelly punished, as an example to other tyrants. I confess God hath this day put a great enemy into my hands. Let us return him thanks; which was instantly done, it being yet day. We lost a great many officers of rank in this battle, and the *Othomans* most of their generals; we had above twenty thousand men killed, and the enemy sixty thousand. The body of the prince of *Ciarcian* was found in the midst of the janissaries, which *Tamerlane* ordered to be embalmed and sent to *Samar-cand*, and the rest of the dead interred with great solemnity at *Sanas*.

This day sets in a full light the inconstancy of human affairs; for but one day before, who was equal to the emperor *Bajazet*, above fortune, as he vainly imagined, and yet a few hours tumbles him down from this monstrous height, he becomes a prisoner, and sees all his mighty empire lost. Our prince, whose soul was cast in a nobler mould, never appeared haughty but in the day of battle, to give a weight to his commands; at all other times,

times, he was affable, humane and humble \*. As his affairs were always prosperous, it is not in my power to give an account of his behaviour in adversity, but it is to be presumed that those who can bear prosperity without pride and arrogance, are never dejected in adversity.

The prince sent to the emperor one of his favourites, with the news of the victory, and also the sabre and bow of *Bajazet*, with the furniture of his horse, which were valued at two hundred thousand ducats. *Axalla* was likewise detached with forty thousand horse, and one hundred thousand foot, in pursuit

\* *Primus Antonius nequaquam pari innocentia post Cremonam (excisam) agebat; satisfactum bello ratus, seu felicitas in tali ingenio avaritiam, superbiam ceteraque occulta mala, patefecit.* Tac. H. 3. “*Antony, after the destruction of Cremona, behaved no longer with discretion and moderation; whether he considered the war as ended; or that prosperity disclosed his avarice, ambition and other hitherto concealed vices.*”

As he (*Edward III.*) was never too much elated in prosperity, so in adversity he never suffered himself to be cast down. His moderation appeared no less in his losing the provinces, which had cost him so much toil and treasure, than in his victories, which had gained him the possession of them. *H. of Eng. tr. by Tindal.*

of the shattered remains of *Bajazet's* army which retired to *Bursa*, but at the approach of our general fled with the utmost precipitation to *Gallipoli*, where the *Othomans* passed the *Hellespont*, and retreated to *Adrianople*.

*Tamerlane* had advice from *Axalla*, of his taking *Bursa* by capitulation, and that *Emmanuel*, the Greek Emperor, had sent the most illustrious persons of his court ambassadors to the prince, whom he had prevented from going further; and in answer had orders to desire them to stay at *Bursa*, till *Tamerlane's* arrival at that place, where our army soon after encamped.

After the usual ceremonies, the ambassadors offered, in the name of their master, to subject his empire to *Tamerlane*, and become his faithful vassal, as the saving of his country from the greatest of miseries could only be recompenced by the offer of his own life, and the lives of his people, to be dedicated to the service of the prince; for the Greeks imagined *Tamerlane* would take this opportunity of making himself master of so delicate a morsel as their empire, therefore prudently offered it to him, as a recompence for his ser-

services \*. The prince, with a look full of goodness, answered them: That he was not come so far, and had not taken so much pains to conquer lands, such an object being too mean a prize for so many dangers, but to make his name famous throughout the world, by shewing to all mankind, that he was come to succour his friend and ally, at his request, and with the assistance of God had happily succeeded in it. That he would never make so great a breach in his reputation, as to have it said with justice, he invaded and seized the kingdom of his friend, under pretence of assisting him, but would leave engraven on the minds of the *Greek* emperor's posterity, the services he had done him and his people. As for his part he was content with the honour of the action, wished him a long life to reign over his subjects, and

\* The *Romans* setting the *Greeks* at liberty, strikes the imagination at first view with something great and noble, which upon examination appears to be the base design of humbling *Philip* king of *Macedon*, and disuniting the *Greeks*, to make the way more easy to universal monarchy. Whereas this action of *Tamerlane's* being intirely disinterested, hath all the beauty true greatness can give.

How brilliant soever an action may be, it ought not to pass for great, when it is not the effect of a great design. *Rochefoucault's maxims tr. from the Fr.*

hoped he would never fall into the like misfortune any more.

One of the ambassadors returned to the Greek emperor with this agreeable news, for which great rejoicings were made in *Constantinople*, and *Emanuel* resolved to come in person, and thank the prince for a generosity so uncommon, and of such a nature, that I believe few princes would imitate so great an example; for a *Tamerlane* seldom appears in the world. *Tamerlane* having notice of *Emanuel's* coming, sent *Axalla* to meet that prince and conduct him to *Bursa*, and upon his arrival near the city, went to meet him with great magnificence, and when the emperor returned home, conducted him out of the town.

*Tamerlane* had a great inclination to see *Constantinople*, but desired to go as a private person, which affair was so well managed by *Axalla*, that the prince was received with great ease and familiarity, conducted every where in a private manner, and had shewn to him every thing esteemed rare and curious; the Greek emperor studying all methods to make the place agreeable to his deliverer, and those that attended him. *Tamerlane* having passed six days here, greatly to his satisfaction,

re-

## TAMERLANE the GREAT. 85

returned to his army, and since that time hath often said, *Constantinople* ought to be the capital of the world, on account of its noble and convenient situation ; and that art seemed to rival nature, in making this city perfectly compleat, by magnificent gardens, beautiful temples, fine historical columns, and the obelisks so admirable for their height, which the emperor *Constantine* brought from *Egypt*.

All the places being delivered to the *Greeks* which the *Othomans* had taken from them in *Asia*, and a strict friendship sworn betwixt the two princes, we thought of finishing our designs, *Tamerlane* resolving to make the soldan of *Egypt* feel the weight of his arms, for giving assistance to *Bajazet*, that all the world might know he was a faithful friend, and a dangerous enemy.

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## C H A P. V.

### *War with the soldan of Egypt.*

**A**fter a stay of twenty days at *Bursa* we begun our march towards the frontiers of the *Mamalukes*, being joined by ten thousand *Grecian* horse, commanded by *Androni-*

*cus Paleologus*, nephew to the Greek emperor ; and that nothing might be wanting to compleat the prince's happiness, before our departure an express arrived with news, that the great chan was in good health, and the princess brought to bed of a son.

It being eight months since we left *Samar-*  
*cand*, many in our army shewed publicly  
their uneasiness, that the prince did not re-  
turn home ; for which reason, when we ar-  
rived at *Califtria*, a general review was or-  
dered, and the prince spoke to the *Parthians*,  
in the following manner. “ Countrymen  
“ and fellow soldiers, if you are tired with  
“ following my victorious ensigns, and re-  
“ turn home, remember it will be said, that  
“ *Tamerlane* your emperor, deserted by his  
“ own subjects, compleated his conquests by  
“ the bravery of another nation ; what an  
“ infamy will this bring upon our country,  
“ at present so glorious ; I cannot, I ought  
“ not to imagine, you desire any such thing,  
“ but rather are willing to attack the *Mama-*  
“ *lukes*, who lately joined the *Othomans* to  
“ ruin us, than suffer me to conquer with  
“ the *Scythians* and my allies, whilst you re-  
“ pose yourselves on beds of down, and tar-  
“ nish the glory you have acquired.” The  
prince

prince had no sooner finished his discourse, than they all cried out, That as they had followed him to *China*, they were ready to follow him all over the world; but begged he would have some regard to their age and wounds; which *Tamerlane* promised. He did not speak to the *Scythians*, for they were glad to have this superiority over the *Parthians*; and as the principal force of *Tamerlane's* army consisted in these two nations, he prudently cherished an emulation betwixt them. Before our army moved from *Calistris*, the prince gave orders, that proper care should be taken of the sick and wounded, and the treasurer distribute a Sum of money to each soldier above his common pay.

As our numerous army could not long subsist in *Syria*, the soldan of *Egypt* resolved to put good garrisons into his strong towns, cover his country with his army, and carefully avoid a general action, in hopes of ruining us by delay. On our side we endeavoured to oblige the *Mamalukes* to change their measures, and to gain our point marched thro' *Caramania*, directly to *Gevolach*, which separates the *Turkish* empire from the soldan's, and had been taken by the *Turks*, but restored again, on condition of the *Mamalukes* send-

ing auxiliaries against *Tamerlane*. *Axalla* invested the town with the vanguard, and the prince soon after coming up with the rest of the army, ordered this general to march to *Aleppo*, whilst he besieged the place, which was well defended, for the garrison, amongst other feats, bravely repulsed our first assault, and killed us twelve hundred men.

Whilst our prince was employed before *Gevolach*, he had intelligence that the soldan was advancing towards him with seventy thousand horse, and one hundred thousand foot. *Tamerlane*, without waiting for any further advice, left the care of the siege to the prince of *Tanais*, with thirty thousand men, and marched directly to *Aleppo*, with the rest of his forces, and when he arrived there, ordered *Axalla* to move forward with the vanguard, and six hours after followed himself.

*Axalla* having detached fifteen hundred horse to get intelligence, they were surprised by the enemy, and most of them cut in pieces; for the *Mamalukes* thinking they had only to deal with the troops at *Aleppo*, advanced with such diligence, that *Axalla* found himself in presence of the enemy, when he did not expect it. He acquainted the prince, that he could

could not avoid engaging, but hoped by an advantageous post he had taken, to give him time to come up. Our general attacked the enemy by detachments as they came down a great hill to range their army in order of battle, and in this manner, amused them near three hours, when *Calibes* appeared with a reinforcement of twenty thousand horse, sent by the prince, and then attacked the *Mamalukes* in form. After the success had been various for some time, *Andronicus* was killed, *Axalla* slightly wounded and taken prisoner, and our troops begun to give way on all sides. At this critical juncture our army appeared, and ten thousand horse attacked the *Mamalukes*, whilst the prince advanced with the rest of his horse and foot; upon which the soldan perceiving too late that all our forces were come up, retreated. *Axalla* escaped on foot from the soldier who made him prisoner, and we pursued the enemy three leagues. The soldan had three horses killed under him in the battle, and bravely performed the duty of a general and soldier on this occasion, but he committed a great fault in not having better intelligence of our army. I must likewise acknowledge, that *Tamerlane's* sending the vanguard to such a distance from the rest of his forces, is not

to be justified ; and that the prince would have found the effects of his rashness very fatal, if *Axalla* had not, by his prudent conduct, extricated him out of this difficulty. There died on the field of battle above four-score thousand men on both sides. Of persons of distinction, we only lost *Andronicus* and three *Parthian* generals. The prince sent couriers to his allies with news of this victory, and compliments of condolence to the Greek emperor for the loss of *Andronicus*, and ordered the prince of *Tanais* to put the garrison of *Gevolach* to the sword, which was executed, the place being taken by storm.

\* The soldan in his retreat burnt and spoiled every thing, which soon reduced our numerous army to want provisions. In this emergency, the prince sent away the useless mouths, and divided his army into three parts. He commanded the first division in person, *Axalla* the second, and *Calibes* the

\* It was resolved, that if the *Spaniards* made a descent, the country about them should be laid waste, that they might have nothing to subsist upon, but what they brought from the fleet. This was the course taken by *Francis I.* in *Provence*, against *Charles V.* with success that answered his expectations. *Rapin's History of England*, tr. by *Tindal*. *The reign of Queen Eliz.*

last;

last; who was ordered to march along the banks of the river *Euphrates*, and subdue that part of the country. The prince marched along the sea coast, and *Axalla* on the side of *Arabia*; and by the good discipline that was kept, we had sufficient provision for the men, and good pasture for the horses.

The maritime towns submitted to the prince, but we were obliged to besiege *Damascus*, which made a brave defence, and when the town was taken, the garrison retired into an impregnable castle, where they soon wanted provisions, and demanded to capitulate; but the prince refusing to give them any conditions, and necessity obliging them to surrender at discretion, they were all put to the sword, or made slaves.

From hence we marched by *Corazin* to *Misril*, where we received orders not to pass the *Jordan*, to preserve the country on the opposite side of the river, which furnished us with provisions in abundance. *Tamerlane* guarded by a body of horse, went from hence to *Jerusalem*, to visit the sepulchre of Christ, which is held in great veneration by all nations, viewed and considered a long time the ruins of *Solomon's* temple, and was afterwards conducted

ducted to all the places where Christ had preached, in the same manner as the pilgrims ; and when he came to the sepulchre, presented rich gifts, and demanded of the guardians, where was the body of their Lord ? They answered, In heaven, at the right hand of God. He then asked, where was the seat of the prophet ? The cherit who was near the prince, said, That Christ was the true son of God, and as he descended from heaven, to heaven he was returned, and held the first place, being there before the prophet. The prince then kneeled down and prayed, and from that time had the name of Christ in great veneration, and took a pleasure in hearing of his miracles.

From *Miseril* the army marched to *Terna*, where we had advice that the soldan having made a feint to retreat into *Arabia*, turned suddenly towards *Egypt*, and was arrived at *Alexandria*, and there assembling troops from all parts. We had orders to march from hence to *Damietta*, which was reported to be impregnable, from the strength of its fortifications, and the numerous garrison in the place ; for which reason, several of our generals advised the prince to march higher up, and not engage himself in a corner ; but *Tamerlane*, who thought

thought nothing could withstand his good fortune, commanded *Axalla* to invest the place with the vanguard, and followed with the rest of the army. When *Axalla* summoned the town, he privately remonstrated to the inhabitants, of whom the greatest part were christians, the goodness and clemency of his master, and their wretched condition in being obliged to obey *Barbarians*, *Moors* and *Mamalukes*; which wrought so effectually upon them, that they took up arms in the night, and seized a gate, which they delivered to our troops, who by this means became masters of the town, and all the *Mamalukes* were put to the sword, or made prisoners. This news was brought to the prince on our march, which caused great joy in the army; for to have left betwixt the branches of the *Nile* such a city behind us, would infallibly have been our ruin, whereas, by being masters of this place, we had a good post to receive provisions from *Greece*. After this exploit, *Larissa* and all the little towns on the coast submitted, which we garrisoned for the greater security of our convoys, the supplying our army with provisions being the principal object of *Tamerlane*.

We

We marched from *Damietta* towards *Alexandria*, and when it was least expected, passed the *Nile*, and directed our course to *Cairo*. This motion of ours surprised, but did not disconcert the soldan, for he marched with so much diligence to *Cairo*, with an army of forty thousand horse, and sixty thousand foot, that he entered the place before we got before it, strongly intrenched himself, and established a free communication betwixt that city and *Alexandria*. This news ruined our measures ; however, the prince advanced, and encamped near the enemy, and skirmished frequently with them, to see if he could not provoke the *Mamalukes* to come out of the town, and try their fortune in a second engagement ; but finding they would not stir out of their intrenchments, called the principal officers to a council of war, and spoke to them in the following manner : “ As the town of *Cairo* was without a garrison when we passed the *Nile*, I with reason expected the place would surrender upon the first summons, and proposed there to make magazines, and refresh my fatigued troops ; but the unexpected arrival of the enemy hath put me under great difficulties ; for here it is impossible to stay on account of the excessive heats and want of provisions.

“ sions. How shall we act on this occasion ?  
“ Must we bury our fame and all our victo-  
“ ries, in so base a manner as that of re-  
“ treating before a beaten enemy ? Or shall  
“ we bravely attack their intrenchments, and  
“ convince the *Mamalukes*, no ramparts are  
“ sufficient to guard them against the intre-  
“ pidity of the *Parthians* ? Consider what is  
“ fit to be done.” The prince having spoke,  
all the captains were silent, not knowing what  
to advise on such an important affair, especi-  
ally as they had never attacked an army cov-  
ered with intrenchments ; which *Tamerlane*  
observing, ordered *Axalla* to give his opinion,  
who said, “ My lord, what is it you demand of  
“ us ? Have you not had continual proofs of  
“ our bravery, and that we always preferred  
“ your honour and reputation to our own  
“ lives ? Lead us, Sir, this moment to the *Ma-*  
“ *malukes*, and you will see nothing is dimi-  
“ nished of the love and affection that we have  
“ for your service, and the desire of immorta-  
“ lizing your name.” *Axalla* had no sooner  
finished than all the captains cried out to lead  
them to the combat, they being ready to die  
for the honour and glory of their prince.

That this ardour might not cool, *Tamerlane*  
gave immediate orders for the march of the  
army,

army, and divided his infantry into four parts. The lieutenant general of the foot marched first, with thirty thousand men, and was sustained by the prince of *Tanais* with fifty thousand; *Axalla* followed with fifty thousand foot and four thousand *Parthian* horse; and the prince had ten thousand horse before him, fifty thousand foot about his person, and the rest of his cavalry in the rear. Our army being drawn up in the order above mentioned, the prince attacked the enemy in different places at the same time, which, at length, succeeded, and obliged the *Mamalukes* to retreat to a second intrenchment in another quarter of the town. Early next morning we attacked the second intrenchment; and the soldan seeing his foot begin to give ground, retreated to the banks of the *Nile*, where every thing was prepared for his passing that river. The prince pursued the enemy with his horse to a narrow causeway upon a bank raised to prevent the overflowing of the *Nile*, where the soldan posted fifteen thousand of his best troops called slaves, to favour his passage over the river. When our infantry came up we attacked the enemy, who defended themselves with great gallantry, and when these brave men could not any longer maintain their post against

against such numbers as attacked them, they threw themselves into the river, and holding their arms in one hand, and swimming with the other, gained the opposite bank, and made a glorious retreat. The soldan retired to *Alexandria*, with the abovementioned slaves and nineteen thousand horse, the rest of his army that escaped being dispersed about the country. We lost eight thousand men in forcing the intrenchments, and the enemy double the number.

*Tamerlane* ordered all the slaves that happened to be taken in the last action to come before him; made them presents, praised their bravery, and invited them into his service; and upon their refusing to accept his offer, gave them leave to return to their master. Such actions as these are very becoming in the great; for we admire and fear them for their courage and power, but love them for their goodness and generosity.

The prince encamped betwixt the *Nile* and the town, to cover his army during the pillage of this opulent city, and in the night, attended by some of his greatest confidants, went round the camp, visited the guards, and caressed and praised his soldiers for their bra-

very. The next morning he came into the city, ordered every soldier to return to his ensign, and took possession of the castle where the riches belonging to the publick were deposited, which the soldans were not permitted to use but in the utmost necessity.

*Tamerlane*, not to leave his victory imperfect, sent *Axalla*, with the vanguard, in pursuit of the soldan, and soon after passed the river with the rest of the army, and marched to *Alexandria*; but before he set forward, rewarded his soldiers out of the treasure found in the castle. Upon the news of our march the people of *Alexandria* intreated the soldan to have compassion on them, and retire; for they were not able to resist the present storm, but would shew their fidelity to him on the first occasion that should offer; and the soldan seeing his affairs desperate, yielded to their reasons, and retreated into *Lybia*. When our army arrived in the neighbourhood of *Alexandria*, which had submitted, the principal inhabitants were ordered to come to the camp, and there take the oath of fidelity; which ceremony finished, *Tamerlane* commanded ten thousand horse and twenty thousand foot, to march into the town, and then made his entry with great pomp.

Perſia

80

## TAMERLANE the GREAT. 99

Persia was at this time governed by a number of petty kings, who since the ruin of the *Roman* empire, were tributary to whatever prince was the most powerful in this part of the world. This country *Tamerlane* resolved to subdue in his return home; to have a free communication with *Egypt*; and for this reason recalled *Calibes* from the banks of the *Euphrates*, made him governor of *Egypt*, and sent him for successor *Lochestan* his great chamberlain; who commanded ten thousand horse. *Lochestan* carried with him the body of troops he commanded, and *Calibes*, by *Tamerlane's* order, brought the same number back to guard his baggage; for he constantly rewarded the merit of his absent servants with more honour than when they were about his person.

*Arsanabei* lieutenant general to the soldan, having formed a plot to destroy the prince, begged leave to enter into his service, and was kindly received by *Tamerlane*, which gave this traitor an opportunity of introducing amongst us four thousand *Mamalukes* that were to assist him in his crime. *Arsanabei* communicated his treason to several of the inhabitants of *Alexandria*, who promised the whole town should take up arms as soon as

100 *The LIFE of Tamerlane*  
the fact was done, which he assured them was easy to perform when the prince was receiving and hearing petitions ; and that he could retire without difficulty, and put himself at their head, by the assistance of a party of *Mamalukes* he would place near the prince's tent with petitions in their hands.

One morning the traitor came up to the prince in his tent, where every one was free to enter that had business with him ; and *Tamerlane* with great goodness, asked what he wanted, at the same time surprized to see him come into a place unfit for his rank ; this form of justice being only for those that had not access to his person, such as poor people, and soldiers ; but the other did not know this custom. *Tamerlane* observing he changed colour, had his eyes upon him, to see what he intended to do, when on a sudden, he attacked the prince sword in hand. *Tamerlane* had his sword drawn as soon as *Arsanabei*, paried the thrust that was made at him, and gave the villain a stroke that almost cut off his arm. In a moment every one ran to the assistance of the prince, who gave orders not to kill the traitor, that he might know his accomplices, and the full extent of the plot ; for which reasons the great imperial judge and  
the

## TAMERLANE the GREAT. 101

the lords of the council were commanded to examine him directly. Every thing being in the utmost confusion by this affair, the guards were prudently reinforced, the port secured, and the prince returned to his palace, but was immediately after obliged to appear in publick, and go to the camp to ease by his presence the soldiers of their terror. When this base man was put to the torture, he frankly confessed the whole plot ; and accordingly the council condemned him and his accomplices to die. *Arsanabei* suffered the first, being strangled, his body quartered, and head set up in the market-place in memory of his treason ; the rest had the same fate, and all those who were suspected and taken made slaves and carried from their native country\*. Thus

H 3 ended

\* The most difficult part a prince hath to act on the theatre of the world is, that of behaving suitable to his dignity in great dangers, which often-times become the more terrible by being unforeseen. *Tamerlane* is a noble example on such an occasion, who rather chose to venture his life than betray an unworthy fear, or incur the censure of mankind by an unjust suspicion.

The following are part of the reflections made by *Cæsar*, when he retired to his closet in some disturbance upon the repeated ill omens of *Calphurnia's* dreams the night before his death. "It is in the Gods when, but in myself how, to die. If *Calphurnia's* dreams are fumes of indigestion, how shall I behold  
" the

ended this plot, which *Tamerlane* defeated by his own resolution; for he said on this occasion, that he suspected the traitor had a design of doing him some mischief, and if he had not been afraid of acting in a manner unbecoming his dignity, would have had him secured. The executions finished, the prince returned to *Alexandria*, settled the affairs of his new conquests, and put the army into quarters of refreshment, the troops being extremely incommoded by the heats.

It being the intention of *Tamerlane* to enlarge and rebuild *Samarcant*, he therefore constantly enquired after good artificers and industrious people, to conduct them to that place, and sent the handsomest persons of the places he conquered to people this city. To these strangers he gave great privileges, and in particular built a temple in this capital of *Parthia* for the christians established there,\*

" the day after to morrow ? If they are from the  
" Gods, their admonition is not to prepare me to es-  
" cape from their decree, but to meet it "

*Spectator No. 374.*

\* The political state of the government received the greatest injury from *Justinian's* project of establishing a general uniformity of opinion in matters of religion, and in circumstances that render'd his zeal as indiscreet as possible.

The

and also allowed liberty of conscience throughout his dominions, notwithstanding the bigotted fury of the priests, and violence of the *Mufti*, who reprimanded him for not obliging all nations by fire and sword, to quit their own religion and follow the law of *Mahomet*:

“ My friend, answered the prince, this I will  
 “ never do ; for I firmly believe God is  
 “ pleased with different forms of worship,  
 “ and that he only hates those who have no  
 “ religion, and boast not to have any ; these  
 “ miscreants I would willingly exterminate  
 “ with my sword from the face of the earth,  
 “ but not the others. I think the manner in  
 “ which I pray to God is the most agreeable  
 “ to him ; therefore make use of this par-  
 “ ticular form of worship, and at the same

The antient *Romans* fortified their empire by indulging all sorts of religious worship ; but their posterity destroyed it by rooting out the various sects, whose doctrines were not predominant.

These sects *Justinian* caused to be extirpated, by the military as well as civil power, and the persecuted people, revolting in their own defence, he thought himself obliged to exterminate them from the empire, in consequence of which he depopulated several province, and whilst he imagined himself increasing the number of the faithful, he was only diminishing the race of mankind. *Reflections on the causes of the grandeur and declension of the Romans*, trans. from the Fr.

" time permit every man in my dominions  
" to serve his Maker in such a manner as  
" he thinks the most agreeable to God, pro-  
" vided his design is to honour and adore the  
" Supreme being, and not to despise and treat  
" him unworthily."

## C H A P. VI.

*The conquest of Persia, death of the great chamberlain, and Tamerlane's return to Samarcand.*

CALIBES being arrived, Tamerlane ordered the army to march, and carried with him from *Alexandria* eight thousand souls, and left the same number of strangers there; for it was his custom to have a great many people follow his camp, to whom he gave establishments in his new conquests, to secure the fidelity of the cities. The forces he left with the governor consisted of forty thousand horse and fifty thousand foot, part of which were put into the strong places along the sea coast, and the rest cantoned about *Alexandria*.

Immediately after the chamberlain's arrival in the army, he besieged a city situated on the

*Euphra-*

*Euphrates*, and was forced to raise the siege; several princes having assembled their troops together and marched to the assistance of the town, upon false intelligence that *Tamerlane* was defeated by the soldan. *Lochestan*, after his retreat, intrenched himself on the banks of the *Euphrates*, and the enemy, become insolent on this advantage, resolved to attack our camp, hoping to gain an easy victory over a general whom they despised for his youth; but in this they were deceived, for the chamberlain put every thing in good order, and waited with firmness the coming of the enemy. The confederates advanced with a great noise, made two attacks with a body of fifty thousand foot, and confident of gaining the victory, sent their horse to the opposite side of a small river, where they imagined the *Parthians* would fly for a retreat. After a long and doubtful combat, the chamberlain observing that our troops repulsed the enemy every where, sallied out of his camp, at the head of ten thousand horse, attacked them unexpectedly, and made a great slaughter. The confederate horse acquainted with this disaster of their foot, repassed the river, which *Lochestan* perceiving, retreated, and our forces after this gallant action remaining quiet

quiet in their camp, the allies retired with a considerable loss.

In our march to *Damascus*, *Tamerlane* put numerous garrisons into several strong places of *Syria*, depopulated such as he thought would revolt in his absence, destroyed the fortifications of those he did not care to keep, and ordered *Cahibes* to follow this method in *Egypt*.

When we arrived at *Damascus*, *Tamerlane* made presents to the officers, and every particular soldier belonging to the auxiliaries of the *Greek* emperor, and then sent them home, prudently setting bounds to his ambition, in the height of prosperity, and when with ease he might have conquered the world; for having fortunately joined the soldan's dominions to his own, he could without difficulty have made *Constantinople* his capital city, and had the sea on the side of *Afia*, for the limits of his vast empire. This was remonstrated to him by his chancellor, who told him, that the promises and friendship of the great ought only to be used to their own advantage; that the welfare and happiness of so many nations as he governed, depended upon him; and he ought not to neglect so fair an opportunity of gaining

gaining honour and glory to the *Parthian* nation. \* *Tamerlane* answered, “ I rather chuse to have the bounds of my empire founded upon virtue, than augmented by dishonour and infidelity. I think, my friend, I could not have done any thing so much for the honour and glory of my empire, as to let posterity know, that a

\* Princes cannot be too much upon their guard against the insinuating speeches of ministers and flatterers ; for they never want cobweb arguments, to induce their masters to commit base actions, and afterwards persist in them.

At the time *Alexander* was touched with a true sense of his guilt, in murdering *Clitus*, *Anaxarchus* the philosopher insinuated himself into this prince's favour, by the following method. “ Is this the *Alexander* whom the world looks upon with such admiration ? See how he meanly weeps like an abject captive, for fear of the censure and reproach of men to whom he ought to be a law and measure of equity, if he would make a right use of his victories, a supreme lord and governor of all, and not be a slave to a vain idle opinion. Do you not know, said he, that *Jupiter* is represented to have justice and law, on each hand of him ? the meaning of which is, that all the actions of a prince are lawful and just.” With these and the like speeches *Anaxarchus* indeed allayed the king's grief, but withal corrupted his manners, rendering him more dissolute and violent than he was before. *Plutarch's life of Alex. the great, trans. by Evelyn.*

*Parthian*

" Parthian emperor made so long a march to  
 " do the world justice on the tyrant *Bajazet* ;  
 " and having happily succeeded in his enter-  
 " prize, shewed honour was his sole ambi-  
 " tion. I can boast to you, that I never  
 " gained any victory equal to this, tho' I  
 " have subdued many different people and  
 " distant nations; and my arms, by the good-  
 " ness of Almighty God, been always victo-  
 " rious. It is a common thing to gain battles,  
 " conquer kingdoms, and give laws to mighty  
 " empires : many have done it, but few are  
 " to be found amongst these great princes,  
 " who have bounded their ambition with  
 " equity and justice ; on the contrary, they  
 " have over-run the world, without regard-  
 " ing either, and made force the only rule  
 " of their actions. I will at least give this  
 " example to posterity\*." The chancellor, up-  
 on

\* It was the opinion of a great statesman †, that a man always unfortunate, was always imprudent ; but whether this maxim is true or not, it may safely be said, the world out of envy gives too much to fortune, and too little to prudence ; for the bulk of mankind, incapable of doing any thing worthy of notice, endeavour to pull down the truly great to their own level, by attributing all heroic actions to other causes than the merit of the persons who performed them.

+ *Cardinal Richlieu.*

There

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on this reprimand, prudently retir'd, and meeting me, repeated their discourse ; which I would not omit, the better to shew the fine qualities of this prince to those who seriously consider the prosperity which constantly attended him, that they may acknowledge his merit, and not attribute his happiness to blind fortune, who as often sets up the base and unworthy as the good and deserving.

From *Damascus* we marched to *Mebeg*, where *Locheftan* met us with his forces, by order of *Tamerlane*, who received him graciously, and gave him the command of the rear guard. At this place the prince received a courier from *Calibes*, desiring a reinforcement to be sent him, on account of some movements made by the foldan; and *Tamerlane* ordered ten thousand horse, and sixteen thousand foot to march into *Egypt*.

Our army passed the *Euphrates* at *Mebeg*, and *Axalla* was commanded to march with

There are no accidents so unlucky, but the prudent may draw some advantage from them : nor are there any so lucky, but the imprudent may turn them to their prejudice. *R. Maxim's tr. from the Fr.*

the

THE L I F E o f

the vanguard by *Diaboroth* to *Armenia*, whilst *Tamerlane* went with the rest of the army to reduce *Babylon*. When the prince arrived before this place, the inhabitants came out of the town to meet and receive him as their sovereign, the greatest part being *Tartars* and *Parthians*, whom his grandfather established there, when he conquered this city; and who had been obliged at different times, to submit to the *Mamalukes* and *Persians*, for want of assistance from their own prince. On this consideration *Tamerlane* shewed the inhabitants great kindness, and received them as his subjects, in right of the conquest made by his grandfather; and whilst he staid here, gave the command of this province and the rest of the country along the *Euphrates*, as far as *Armenia*, to *Lockestan*.

*Tamerlane* went from *Babylon* upon advice that the *Persian* prince *Guines* was coming to put himself and territory under his protection; and whilst the army marched slowly under the command of the prince of *Tanais*, *Tamerlane* advanced with great diligence towards *Axalla*, to receive this holy cheat, who came in a very humble manner, leading different sorts of animals which he had tamed, and by them pretended to instruct mankind

in

## T A M E R L A N E the G R E A T . 111

in their duty. The moment *Tamerlane* appeared, *Guines* begun to pray for his health and prosperity, and so artfully play'd his part, that he intirely gained the prince, who made him a present of sixteen thousand prisoners, to be instructed in the purity of his religion, which was very acceptable to *Guines*, who flatter'd himself that by forming these men according to his own behaviour and opinion, they would greatly assist him in his ambitious projects.

Many people highly blamed the prince for valuing *Guines* so much, upon the appearance of his sanctity, without further examination; for the real motive of this artful man's journey, was the hopes of getting some addition to his territories, under the shadow of devotion.

All *Perſia*, except *Tauris*, submitted to the prince, which city being conveniently situated for the designs of *Guines*, ſome years before this time he ſet up a pretended title to a right of sovereignty over the town, and its territory, which justly alarmed the inhabitants, who formed themſelves into a commonwealth, in order to preſerve their liberty, and gave to *Talismaber*, an officer of great experience,

perience, the command of their troops, with the title of captain general of the republick. *Talismaber* was too well acquainted with the intrigues of *Guines*, not to be fully convinc'd that he would sollicit the prince to subdue this city, and change its form of government; therefore gave orders to provide every thing necessary for the defence of the town, and sent ambassadors to inform *Tamerlane* of the usurpations and ambitious views of this hypocrite, which he covered with the mask of religion. The prince observing, by the discourse of the ambassadors, that these disputes might be of use to his affairs, dismissed them, with orders to restore *Guines* his just rights. *Tamerlane*, however, endeavoured to gain the captain general to his interest, and for this purpose, sent some trusty persons, in his name, to promise that great officer a principality in his dominions, if he engaged the inhabitants of *Tauris* to submit to his obedience; but *Talismaber*, afraid of the intrigues of *Guines*, instead of complying with this request, persuaded the inhabitants to elect him their prince, and sustain a siege, which being reported to *Tamerlane*, he sent *Guines* into his own dominions loaden with presents.

*Talismaber*

Talismaker knowing the inhabitants of *Tauris* to be giddy and inconstant, and that a change might happen in the town upon the least disadvantage in his absence, resolved to remain in the place, and send a considerable body of horse against us, under the command of *Camaras* his lieutenant, to whom he gave orders not to attack us but by surprize, which he told him would be easy to do, for so great an army as ours could not live close together. When these orders were given, *Axalla* was besieging a town, which he afterwards took by storm, and whilst our people were pillaging, *Camaras* attacked our advanced guard, and pursued them to the camp, where the alarm was very great. *Axalla* immediately remedied this disorder, by commanding six thousand *Parthian* horse to join the advanced guard; which the enemy observing retreated in good order, till they came to a pass at the ford of a river, and there pretended to encamp; but the next morning, we had advice that *Camaras* having thrown a garrison into the city of *Gorgechin*, capable of defending it eight or ten days, retreated ten leagues. This step proved fatal to that general, for the town surrendered upon the first summons; which *Axalla* carefully concealed, and caused

a report to be spread by persons station'd on purpose, that the garrison of *Gorgechin* defended themselves with great bravery,\* and having thus amused *Camares*, surprized him, encamped in a great village at the foot of a mountain, to which there was but one large avenue. Here *Axalla* cast up intrenchments, which he guarded with the foot, and encamped behind them with his horse. *Camares* on his side was not idle; for notwithstanding the precautions of our general, a little before midnight he surprized the guard of foot, filled up the intrenchments, and then gallantly attacked the horse guard, hoping to force that post, and escape; but a strong reinforcement coming to our troops, *Camares* was killed, and most of his men cut in pieces, or made prisoners. In the morning *Tamerlane* arrived, praised those who had done their duty, and ordered two officers to be executed who were condemned to die for not observing the military laws on this occasion.

\* The circumvention of an enemy in war, is not only just but honourable, and of great advantage to the author of it.

*Plut. life of Agesilaus trans. by Needham.*

The prince encamped that day within eight leagues of *Tauris*, and the next sent *Axalla* to summon the town; which caused great confusion amongst the inhabitants, for the party *Guines* had in the place retired to a separate quarter, and sent deputies to assure the prince of their submission, and demand his protection; and the rest of the inhabitants, seeing our victorious arms approach, openly murmured. Things were in this fluctuating state, when the deputies of the party of *Guines* returned from our camp, and reported to the people, that the prince had received them in the most gracious manner, and only demanded they should deliver up their prince and his adherents, and submit to his empire; upon which the people cried out to arms against those that refused to capitulate. At this critical juncture their prince was for interposing his authority, but was desired, if he had any regard for his own safety, to retire with his faction; to which he prudently submitted, and the night following retreated to the mountains with his party. I must do him the justice to say, that he took his measures on this occasion with great prudence, and it is reasonable to believe would have succeeded extremely well, if *Camares* had not by his negligence suffered himself to be surpriz-

ed ; for in this case we should have been employed six or seven months before the town ; and it is easy to imagine the many accidents and changes that constantly happen in the empire of so great a monarch as ours ; besides, long sieges generally ruin armies by sickness and desertion.

Upon the retreat of *Talismaher*, the inhabitants united together, and demanded of the prince to be maintained in their privileges, and received as his own subjects ; and also that he would moderate the taxes, for a long war with *Guines*, in defence of their liberty, had quite exhausted them of men and money ; which demands *Tamerlane* readily granted. The next day the inhabitants of *Tauris* proclaimed the prince their sovereign, and took the oath of fidelity ; and *Tamerlane* made his entry with the general applause of the people, who thought themselves perfectly happy in escaping such a dangerous shipwreck.

The day after *Tamerlane* received dispatches from the empress, with an account of the death of the great chām, and that she had taken up some grandeys who shewed an inclination to raise a sedition. This news he concealed

concealed from the army, and sent *Axalla* to the assistance of the empress, with thirty thousand horse; and honoured him with the commission of lieutenant-general to that princess.

*Tamerlane* made the prince of *Tanais* governor of *Persia*, and left with him particular orders to have a watchful eye over the actions of *Guines*, and weaken his faction as much as possible; for the prince had discovered several designs of this hypocrite, which tended towards raising himself to the monarchy of *Persia*. \* Before this discovery *Tamerlane* had suffered himself to be gained by the pretended holiness of *Guines*, which occasioned much mischief afterwards. It is true he

\* *Tamerlane's* being deceived by *Guines*, is a good lesson for princes to be careful in distinguishing appearances from realities, and not to confide too much in any man before they have some experience of his fidelity.

Among all *Elizabeth's* ministers and counsellors, there was not one so heartily attached to his mistress's interest as *Cecil*, who was secretary of state. All the rest had their private views, to which they strove to adapt the queen's and the nation's interests. But *Cecil* minded only the queen's, and was in great favour with her. Therefore to him chiefly she imparted her most secret thoughts, with respect to the government of the state *Rapin's Hist. of Eng. trans. by Tindal.*

was afraid to stir whilst *Tamerlane* was alive ; but his children felt the smart of it. And in my opinion princes are greatly to blame who do not study the quiet of their posterity as much as their own repose.

\* As the prince's presence was necessary in his own country, he prepared for his departure, and invited the great lords of *Persia* to *Samarcand*, and during their stay in that city gained them intirely by advancing some to the honours of his court, and others to employments in the empire ; by which means *Persia* became extremely useful towards maintaining *Syria*, and the other dominions of the seldan, in quiet.

All our affairs adjusted, we marched from hence to *Samarcand* loaded with the spoils of *Asia* and *Africa* ; and upon our arrival in that city, the emperor made a vow to build a

\* Where it happens that a prince governs different nations united in the same interest, it is his business to avoid any distinction, and shew himself the common parent of all, by distributing his favours impartially, and according to merit ; for there is not any method so easy to gain the hearts of mankind, as by this sort of justice, everyman having vanity enough to think he may one day gain a favour of his prince by this means.

temple

temple to God, and an hospital for the poor. The foundations of these buildings were immediately laid out at one end of the town, which *Tamerlane* proposed for its centre; and as he intended to people this part of the city with the prisoners taken in his wars, he ordered the new streets to be drawn out with lines, assigned these strangers ground to build upon, and furnished them with money to erect their houses.

\* This affair settled, *Tamerlane* ordered the names of all his soldiers to be wrote down, at a general review; and at times when such things were least expected they received ho-

\* The art of giving is a science to which most people pretend, yet few understand; for to avoid shocking the decent pride of a modest man in distress, to raise a noble emulation in the minds of the young ambitious, and make firm friends of violent enemies, by the manner of bestowing favours, requires a delicacy of sentiment, and superiority of genius not easily met with.

*Xenophon*, in his character of the younger *Cyrus*, says, that prince conferred his favours with judgment, and in season; but took care not to exhaust the means, by an imprudent profusion, and rather chose to make his liberalities the rewards of merit, than mere donations; and that they should be subservient in promoting virtue, and not in supporting the soft and abject sloth of vice. *Rollin's ant.*  
*H. trans. from the Fr.*

nours and rewards from the prince, as a recompence for their services. Here he declared in his council the death of the great cham, and did not omit the least ceremony of respect to the memory of that prince; and here he also sent back the *Muscovite* troops, with rich presents, and ordered *Synopes* to conduct them out of his empire, and afterwards to go to the court of the czar, and renew the alliance with that prince.

The emperor having nothing further to do at *Samarcand*, left *Bajazet* under the care of the governor of *Sachetay*, and went from thence to *Cambalu*, where advice was come, that *Odmar* had gained a battle over the *Chinese*, who had revolted, pursued his victory, and taken four great and rich cities; upon which the *Chinese* had again demanded peace. The emperor sent to *Odmar*, the articles he intended to grant them, which were as follows: That the king of *China* should do homage to *Tamerlane* in person, pay the arrears of the tribute, and all the expences, and then every thing should be put upon the footing of the last peace.

*Tamerlane* restored to the inhabitants of *Cambalu* the privileges they had forfeited in  
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the rebellion of *Calix*, and loaded his new subjects with favours, who came to him from all parts in bands, the *Tartars* having no fixed abode.

As *Cambalu* was near the mountain *Altay*, where the *Scythian* emperors are interred, *Tamerlane* ordered the remains of the great chām to be brought there, being resolved to conduct the body himself, with all the pomp usual on such occasions; and tho' it was not the custom for women to assist at funerals, he paid this honour to the empress, who was come from *Quinzay* to meet her husband. *Tamerlane* acted in this manner to shew how much he honoured the memory of the late emperor in the person of his daughter, and the high esteem he had for this princess; \* which certainly must have been very great; for he always continued faithful to the marriage bed, and never gave himself up to voluptuousness, so common amongst princes.

\* *Nicocles* king of *Salamin* gloried in having never known any woman besides his wife, during his reign; and was amazed that all other contracts of civil society should be treated with due regard, whilst that of marriage, the most sacred and inviolable of obligations was broke thro' with impunity. *Rollin's ant. H. trans. from the Fr.*

The funeral ceremonies finished, and the emperor's last will executed with great exactness, *Tamerlane* diverted himself with jousts, tournaments, and hunting, till the peace was concluded with the king of *China*; for at this time our prince had fixed his thoughts on preserving by his prudence what he had acquired by his valour, and proposed to pass the remainder of his days in the enjoyment of the fruits of his labours, and maintaining his people in peace and plenty. *Axalla* remained at *Quinzay*, to the great satisfaction of the inhabitants, who begged by his intercession, that the emperor would permit his son to be brought up amongst them; to which *Tamerlane* consented, and made his son governor-general of the provinces of *Quinzay* and *Catay*, and *Axalla* lieutenant-general to the young prince, with full authority to govern these provinces till his son came of age.

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### C H A P. VII.

*The raising the siege of Cairo, besieged by the soldan. That prince's defeat and death, and Tamerlane's wise regulations.*

**T**AMERLANE had begun to cultivate the arts of peace, when a courier arrived from *Calibes*, with an account that the soldan was

was before *Cairo* with one hundred thousand men. The emperor, on this advice, sent orders for the prince of *Tanais* to march into *Egypt*, and endeavour to raise the siege. The soldan hearing of the approach of our troops, supported himself with the thoughts that the great *Tamerlane* and his good fortune was not with them; and that he had to deal with a prince covetous of glory, and who perhaps to acquire it, might inconsiderately attack his intrenchments, to succour the town, which was in great want of provisions.

Our army advanced slowly, it being resolved in a council of war, that the maritime places should be directed to bring corn from the *Grecian* isles, and carry it by sea to *Alexandria*, from whence we could transport it to *Cairo*; which order was so well obeyed, that we got together a great quantity in a little time. At the approach of our army the enemy retired into a fortified camp on the banks of the *Nile*, where the soldan had a great number of armed barks for the convenience of passing his troops over the river, and making a barricado to prevent our bringing provisions to *Cairo* by water.

The prince of *Tanais* marched into the town, and carefully distributed the corn he brought upon waggons, mules, and camels, which supplied the place with provisions for fifteen days ; and gave us an opportunity of retaking the towns above *Cairo*, whilst armed barks were preparing at *Alexandria* for supplying of this great city [with provisions. The general began his operations with *Mujara*, which he took by storm, and put all the men in the place to the sword ; and the other towns seeing no succour was to be expected, through fear of the same fate, surrendered at the first summons ; and the prince of *Tanais* having put good garrisons into these places returned to *Cairo*.

Upon advice that these towns had surrendered, and that our fleet was ready to sail, the soldan found himself obliged to alter his measures; for the communication with *Upper Egypt* being cut off, he could not be supplied from thence any longer with necessaries for his army, therefore visited his magazines, where still remained provisions for thirty days, and turned out of his camp all useless persons. Some people found fault with the soldan's conduct on this occasion, but tho' ill success attended him, it is my opinion he acted with

with great judgment, in providing the strong places above *Cairo* with every thing necessary for a good defence; and if they had obeyed his orders in holding out to the last extremity, we must have been ruined. But it too frequently happens, that generals are blamed for enterprizes which have not succeeded, when every thing hath been ordered with great prudence, and the cause of the miscarriage solely owing to the cowardice or treachery of those to whom the execution hath been confided.

When *Calibes* embarked, he demanded to have twelve thousand men sent him to a place he named, who marched accordingly, under the command of *Synopes*; and upon the fleet's approaching, our general attacked an advantageous post, to amuse the enemy, and prevent their assisting those we attacked upon the river; which had the desired effect. *Calibes* being drowned, and his troops routed, *Synopes* rallied them, and attacked an island, from whence the enemy defended their bridges and boats, and after an obstinate dispute, made himself master of it, burnt the bridges they abandoned, and when the convoy was safely passed, the victorious troops encamped upon the island, to keep the passage open.

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This affair gloriously finished, our generals considered of the means to supply the army with provisions; but so many difficulties were found in this article, that it was resolved to march lower down, and leave *Synopes* in the island. The soldan for the same reasons intended to retreat, and in order to execute his design the following night, lighted great fires in his camp, made several motions with his infantry, as if he resolved to attack us; and during this time his horse passed the river. In the morning it was perceived, that part of the soldan's army had passed the river, and the prince of *Tanaïs* was obstinate in his opinion for attacking the enemy's camp, but the old generals declared, that sixty thousand brave men were not easily forced in good intrenchments; and it was their opinion, that a strong reinforcement should be sent to *Synopes*, with some machines, to distress the enemy, if they attempted to pass the river; which counsel was followed. The next night, the soldan endeavoured to embark the rest of his forces; and having conducted the first transport to the water side, was attacked by *Synopes* with great fury, the soldan being wounded in the action, and a great number of his men killed and drowned. The morn-

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ing after, twenty thousand men that remained in the enemy's camp, surrendered themselves prisoners of war, and we pursued the soldan to *Palena*, where he died of his wound, and the *Mamalukes* retreated into *Lybia*, with his only son.

When the emperor received an account of this victory, he publickly praised the courage and conduct of the prince of *Tanais*, and *Synopes*, and afterwards lamented the fate of *Calibes*, whose government was given to the prince of *Tanais*, and *Synopes* made general of foot. The army was ordered to return into *Perſia*, and be reconducted thither by the great chamberlain, who arrived after our victory, with a strong reinforcement, it being Tamerlane's custom to ſend reinforcements one after another, where he thought they might be wanted.

To return to the court, the king of *China* being arrived there, ſwore obedience to the emperor, and was magnificently entertained, and carried to the principal cities of the empire, in appearance to amuse him, but in reality, to ſhew our formidable power to this barbarian, who made his faith subservient to his conveniency. At the time this prince was at court, the emperor received news of

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this victory, for which he ordered the army double pay, and made magnificent feasts and tournaments, that lasted eight days.

The rejoicings finished, the king of *China* returned home, and *Tamerlane* went to *Quin-zay* to see his son, and regulate the police. *Axalla* attended by the great lords of that province, came two days journey to meet the emperor ; and the inhabitants of this city upon his arrival, brought presents in gold to the value of two hundred thousand ducats, besides a great quantity of curious and rare things \*. When *Tamerlane* came to the palace

\* It is a thing to be wished, that in the education of princes, care was taken to make them familiar with the wants and hardships of mankind, to render their hearts susceptible of pity and compassion, instead of bringing them up with such an excess of pride and insolence, as if they were as much superior in nature as dignity to the rest of the world, and mankind solely made for their use.

We may venture to say, without fear of being mistaken, that the greatest excellencies in *Cyrus*, were owing to his education, where the confounding him in some sort with the rest of the subjects, and the keeping him under the same subjection to the authority of his teachers, served to eradicate that pride which is so natural to princes ; taught him to hearken to advice, and to obey before he came

lace he ordered his son to be brought to him, who was then seven years old, and had been treated with a delicacy and grandeur usual to princes; which highly offended the emperor, who put a bow about his neck, and forbid his head to be covered for the future, saying aloud, That those who by their birth are destined to be sovereigns, ought to be early accustomed to cold and heat, and the exercise of arms.

Tamerlane sent the empress, who was with child, to Samarcand; and some little time after had news, that she was brought to bed of a fine boy; which was proclaimed throughout his dominions, and publick rejoicings ordered for fifteen days; and by this means, the inhabitants of Quinzay had an opportunity of distinguishing themselves, that city being perfectly convenient for publick entertainments and diversions, from a beautiful varie-

came to command, inured him to hardship and toil; accustomed him to temperance and sobriety; and, in a word, rendered him such, as we have seen him throughout his whole conduct; gentle, modest, affable, obliging, compassionate, an enemy to all luxury and pride, and still more so to flattery. *Rollin's ant. Hist. trans. from the Fr.*

ty which arises in the happy disposition of its great number of islands, canals and bridges.

Tamerlane settled the same weights and measures throughout his dominions, and imposed a tribute, according to the ability of the provinces, for a constant fund to his treasury, and to enable him to lay up magazines of provisions, in places where he thought his armies might want them. In this last article, the emperor was particularly careful, and would often say, an army resembled a man; calling the general the head, soldiers the arms, money the feet, and provisions the belly; and likewise, that misfortunes generally happened in war when the body was lame of a leg, had got a broken arm, the belly starved, or a head sick.

The emperor, before his departure from hence, convoked the people, and published his ordinances, which were received with great veneration by the inhabitants, who on all occasions shewed so much respect and affection to the prince, that Axalla one day took the liberty of saying, that this city was worthy of his residence; Tamerlane answered, "It is a maxim, that the sovereign of this great city, should only come here once in

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“ ten years, and then model his actions, as  
“ if he was upon a stage, performing a part,  
“ in which gravity and fine action is necessary  
“ to please the spectators ; for these people  
“ easily receive an ill impression of their  
“ prince, if he makes the least false step, and  
“ as readily a good one, if he acts his part  
“ well.”

The emperor sent *Axalla* from hence to *China*, to settle every thing betwixt the king and *Odmar*, who had orders to return; *Tamerlane* intending for the future, to keep him about his person, to assist him with his counsel. *Axalla* was extremely well pleased with this commission, being glad of having an opportunity to shew by good offices, his affection to *Odmar*; for *Tamerlane* kept all his servants in great union together, often exhorting them to shew obedience to him, and friendship to one another.

Upon Axalla's arrival, Odmar began his journey to return, and the other advanced towards the Chinese frontier, to have an interview with the king of China; for the emperor, who judged extremely well of men and things, in settling his affairs, could not finish this business to his satisfaction, but by recal-

ing *Odmar*, who was too grave and severe, and sending *Axalla*, who was gay and polite. At this interview, the king of *China* demanded to have the town of *Quinanxi* delivered, according to the treaty of peace; for *Odmar* instead of restoring it, represented to *Tamerlane*, that the keeping this place was of the utmost consequence. In exchange *Axalla* demanded another town further advanced in the country, which was readily granted; and by this free concession, *Axalla* perceived the king did not desire this town for any ill design, as *Odmar* had represented, the other being of much greater consequence; therefore consented to this prince's request. This city is situated in the middle of a great lake, in which are many islands and agreeable villa's, where the kings of *China* amuse themselves with all sorts of country diversions; therefore this king did not care what conditions were imposed on him, provided he had *Quinanxi*, where he might live an agreeable retired life, having made one of his brothers regent of the kingdom, his high mind not being able to bear the servitude to which he was reduced. *Axalla* having visited all the towns, and restored the publick tranquillity, sent a courier to know, if what he had done was agreeable to his master's intentions; who sent

sent him a satisfactory answer, and permission to come to *Cambalu*, where the emperor was at that time attended by *Odmar*.

\* *Tamerlane* regularly set down in his table-book, the names of those who were capable of serving him, that he might not forget to employ them in civil or military affairs, according to their talents, without being importuned; for *Tamerlane* justly supposed, that those who sollicit employments or governments, have not the profit of the prince, or the good of his subjects in view.

Some time after this, the emperor received advice from the army in *Perſia*, that the soldiers were frequently guilty of mutiny against their generals, and the ancient discipline lost; which gave *Tamerlane* great uneasiness, as it was necessary to apply a speedy remedy to this disorder: However, before he fixed upon any method, he privately asked the opinions of *Odmar* and *Axalla*, on this delicate affair. *Odmar's* extraordinary caution, raised

\* Never any prince judged better of mankind, or what employments suited their capacity, than queen *Elizabeth*: for this great princess examined their merit herself, and knew the full value of every person in her court.

new difficulties, and *Axalla*'s proposal, that his master should go to the army, was not agreeable to the emperor's way of thinking at this time; for he had tasted the sweets of living in cities, and the rough manner of encamping with his armies did not please him so much as formerly. He answered, That as for himself, he would reside at *Samarcand*, to be near the army in *Persia*, which *Axalla* should command; that he intended to assign the clearest part of his revenue for the payment of his troops; and was determined to have the ancient discipline restored; the army always encamped, their camp changed every three months, and the troops pay for every thing they wanted: That as he had a long time commanded his forces in person, he was well acquainted with the valour and merit of every one, and would reward the officers and soldiers accordingly \*. Then turning to *Odmar*, said,

\* *Tamerlane* was careful of his conquests, but did not neglect the education of his children, in which he excelled the great *Cyrus*.

Never had any man more reason than *Cyrus* to be sensible, how highly necessary a good education is to a young prince. He knew the whole value of it with regard to himself, and had found all the advantages of it, by his own experience.—And yet he intirely neglected the education of his own children, and forgetting that he was a father, employed himself

said, he would put under his care the young prince at *Quinzay*, where he would live in peace, and be highly honoured ; which he considered as proper for his old age, and a fit recompence for his services. Having finished his discourse, he sent for the chancellor, and ordered him to make out a commission for *Odmar* to be governor of the provinces of *Quinzay* and *Catay*, and another for *Axalla* to be general of his army, with the same authority as himself, in all the provinces thro' which he should march.

This affair settled, *Tamerlane* returned to *Samarcand*, and left *Odmar* at *Cambalu*, to prepare for his journey to *Quinzay*, ex-

self wholly about his conquests : He left that care entirely to women, that is to princesses, brought up in a country where vanity, luxury and voluptuousness reigned in the highest degree ; for the queen his wife, was of *Media*. And in the same taste and manner were the two young princes, *Cambyses* and *Smerdis*, educated.

The effect of the education of these princes was such as ought to be expected from it. *Cambyses* came out of that school what he is represented in history, an obstinate and self-conceited prince, full of arrogance and vanity, abandoned to the most scandalous excesses of drunkenness and debauchery, cruel and inhuman, even to cause his own brother to be murdered, in consequence of a dream. *Rollin's ant. His trans. from the Fr.*

tremely well satisfied the emperor had chosen him for this government. *Axalla* received his last orders when *Tamerlane* arrived at the capital of *Parthia*, who commanded the flower of the youth to attend this general, that they might be educated in the hardships of a camp, and not in the effeminacy of a court.

After the departure of *Axalla*, *Tamerlane* amused himself in adorning a magnificent temple, which he built for the sepulchre of himself and successors, where he had his battles cut in basso-relievo, and hung up the trophies taken from his enemies. In this and other innocent pleasures, the emperor passed his leisure hours, but never neglected the justice due to his subjects; for three times a week he publickly heard the grievances of the meanest of the people, dressed in his royal robes; and the other days gave private audience to his ministers of state, and had all important affairs decided in his presence. In his council he kept up so great a severity, that it was dangerous to mention any thing there that was not true; and he obliged the counsellors to give their opinions cooly, and free from passion and prejudice. In his conversation he was free and chearful, which made

made him beloved by his servants, whom he never changed but when they committed great faults. The annual tribute he received from *Muscovy* was distributed in pensions to such persons of that court as were capable of hurting his affairs or disturbing his quiet. Every three months he had an exact account of the state of his treasury, which was so well digested, that he could in one hour see his ordinary and extraordinary expence. The great treasurer had free access to him, as he was obliged every day to give in his accounts, and receive the orders of his master; for the pensions of the princes and great officers were paid by the treasurer, and all others by his deputies, who were distributed in the several provinces, to pay money according to the order of the prince. These commissaries were obliged to execute their office with great integrity, I myself having seen two of them punished with a very cruel death for embezzling the publick money.

As soon as *Axalla* arrived in the army, he published the ancient laws of the *Parthian* discipline, took particular care to have them punctually executed, and frequently reviewed the troops, to encourage the officers and soldiers in their duty. In this army there  
was

was sixty thousand foot, commanded by six generals, under the general of the foot, and forty thousand horse, under four generals, a thousand stradiots or light armed horse, and ten thousand pioneers ; and besides these, were the general's guards, which consisted of two thousand horse, and four thousand foot, who encamped about his tent. This was the state of the imperial army, which was always in the field, and ready to reinforce the others, in case of necessity. *Axalla* always studious of bringing the military art to perfection amongst the *Parthians*, got out of *Europe* two small field pieces of cannon, by the means of a *Greek*, employed for that purpose ; which so highly pleased the emperor, that he set up a foundery, gave the honour of this invention to *Axalla*, and had it put into the annals of his reign, as a perpetual testimony of the signal service he had done the empire \*. When merit pleaded, *Tamer-*  
*lane*

\* *Edward III.* was affable and obliging to good men, but inexorable to the bad. There are few princes to be met with in history, who knew so well how to join the duties of a sovereign with those of an honest man and a good christian, tho' in this last respect, his conduct was not altogether blameless. Never had any king before him bestowed ho-

*Tamerlane* set no bounds to his generosity; for the meanest soldier, provided he served his master well, might hope to attain the highest honours of the empire; and, on the contrary, those that for their crimes deserved punishment, rarely escaped, tho' the first in rank by their birth or dignity; which prudent manner of acting linked this great empire together in so strong a manner, that it was not in the power of the most violent shock, to put it in danger of being disunited.

## C H A P. VIII.

*The death of Bajazet, war with Calepin, and Tamerlane's death.*

THE emperor advanced in years, his sons were growing up to the state of manhood, and the courtiers began to adore the rising sun; but this did not give the least jealousy to *Tamerlane*, the only thing that gave him uneasiness, was the fear of their divisions, and that after his death they would not have sufficient virtue to keep this mighty honour and rewards with more judgment, and greater regard to true merit. *Rapin's Hist. of Eng.* trans. by *Tindal.*

empire

empire united together ; in which he was too good a prophet ; for this great monarchy was intirely dissipated by the divisions of the brothers.

*Axalla* sent a courier from the army in *Per-*  
*sia*, to acquaint the emperor, that the *Otho-*  
*mans*, having heard of the death of *Bajazet*, in  
the prison of *Samarcand*, had elected his son  
*Calepin* for their prince, and were assembling a  
great army to re-conquer *Natolia*, as the *Greek*  
emperor was then employed in a war against  
his brother in *Greece*, and had intirely neglected  
his affairs in *Asia*. *Bajazet* preserved his  
pride to the last moment of his life, tho' he  
had been used with contempt, and suffered  
the indignity of being put in an iron cage, like  
a furious wild beast, and made the footstool  
of the emperor when he mounted his horse  
on solemn occasions.

The emperor having ordered *Axalla* to  
march into *Natolia*, declared he would follow  
and command his army in person, and like-  
wise take his eldest son with him, whom *Od-*  
*mar* brought from *Quinzay*, seemingly on  
purpose. But, notwithstanding these appear-  
ances, *Tamerlane* sent *Axalla* secret orders to  
attack the enemy before he left *Samarcand* ;  
for

for he perceived this journey would be very uneasy to him, on account of a pain in his reins, that he had complained of above three months, and which gave reason to fear would bring on some more dangerous symptoms, as he had lost his appetite, and was become extremely lean.

*Axalla* marched into *Turcomania*, and waited at *Garga* for reinforcements, which the prince of *Tanais* and other generals were bringing to join us; and during this time sent an officer of distinction to acquaint the *Greek* emperor and his brother with his arrival at *Garga*, and intreat them to end their intestine quarrels, and apply a remedy to this foreign mischief, which daily increased. These princes, who were disputing the succession, instead of paying a due regard to such prudent advice, became jealous of *Axalla*, and thought themselves in as much danger of being attacked as *Calepin*, notwithstanding the emperor's candid behaviour to *Emanuel* their father, and the assurances he had given them of his friendship.

The reinforcements we expected having joined us, the army marched to meet the enemy, who advanced slowly along the sea

sea coast, for the conveniency of provisions, which were plentiful in their camp, and scarce in ours; which coming to the knowledge of the bashaw who commanded the troops of *Calepin*, he encamped near *Reddin*, and changed his design of giving us battle, in hopes of ruining our army by famine. The intention and orders of our general, was to bring the enemy to an engagement; and for this purpose he resolved to cut off their convoys, by encamping betwixt them and the sea; and accordingly marched towards the *Othomans*, as if he intended to attack their lines; and the troops continuing above eight hours in order of battle, the bashaw could not imagine his design, till he was informed that we had cast up intrenchments behind our army, and should by this means cut off his provisions. The bashaw immediately perceived he could neither subsist his army where he was encamped, or retreat without fighting; therefore, the next morning at break of day, sent troops to take an advantageous post on a hill, and intrench themselves. On our side *Axalla* ordered *Synopes* to attack this post with twenty thousand men, before the enemy was intrenched, and march under cover of the hill, that their blows might be felt the moment their persons were seen; an enemy surprized being

half beaten, which was verified on this occasion; for the *Othomans* immediately gave ground, and suffered our men to make themselves masters of that important post, without much resistance. The bashaw sent a considerable body of foot to regain possession; and *Axalla* reinforc'd his troops, who after a long and bloody engagement remained masters of the hill; which the general ordered to be intrenched, and left *Synopes* to command in this important post. We lost in this action twenty five thousand men, and the enemy thirty thousand; the horse being spectators of the combat, on account of a morass that prevented their engaging.

The *Othomans*, upon this disadvantage, quitted their camp in the night, and fled, being warmly pursued by the prince of *Tanais* with a good body of horse, and the stradiots commanded by *Stucan*, who were followed by the whole army. In the evening of the next day, as we were pitching our tents, a courier arrived with news, that the prince of *Tanais* was surrounded by the enemy, and wanted immediate assistance; upon which our general ordered *Halicen* to advance full speed with ten thousand horse, and follow with

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the rest of the cavalry. When *Halicen* came up with our forces, he found *Stucan* killed, his stradiots defeated, and the prince of *Tanaïs* overturn'd from his horse as dead, and in the power of the enemy; however, he endeavoured to revive the spirits of the fainting troops, and bravely supported them till the arrival of the general. When *Axalla* came up the bashaw advanced to the assistance of his troops, with a considerable body of horse; and our men, encouraged by the presence of their general, pushed the *Othomans* quite thro' their foot, who abandoned their infantry, and fled. Our horse flushed with success, attacked the enemy's foot that were put in disorder, routed and pursued them till dark, which favoured the *Othomans* retreat, who made forced marches, till they reached *Gallipoli*, where they embarked for *Europe*, and joined *Calepin*. The prince of *Tanaïs* was found amongst the dead, wounded in the thigh, whom *Axalla* reprimanded for his rashness in pursuing the enemy, without taking the precautions necessary on such occasions.

The campaign finished, our troops marched into winter quarters in the neighbourhood of *Gavolack*; and the prince of *Tanaïs* returned

to his government with his troops, to secure that country against any sedition that might happen on account of the emperor's indisposition, which was now known to be incurable. The prince of *Tanais* was not gone twenty leagues, when a courier arrived with news of the emperor's death, which happened the day after he received an account of our victory, having finished his life with great tranquillity, speaking with good sense to his last moments, and directing the affairs of his empire, according to custom. This melancholy news immediately becoming publick, *Axalla* assembled the troops, and exhorted them to honour the memory of *Tamerlane* by their fidelity to his son, who was equal to his father in goodness, and would constantly be their protector; and after he had soothed and calmed the minds of the soldiery for their great loss, prepared to leave forty thousand men with the governor of the country, and march with the rest to *Samarcand*, according to the orders he had received from court. A favourite of the young prince followed the courier with great presents to the general, and strong assurances of his new master's affection; for the power and merit of *Axalla* was so great, that the tranquillity of the empire in some measure depended upon him: but these

methods were not in the least necessary to make this great man do his duty ; for all his actions were guided by virtue and honour, and in this case gratitude to his late master was a sufficient guaranty for his fidelity.

It is now time to give an account of what passed during the emperor's sickness. *Tamerlane* having searched every where for remedies to his disease, and at last finding nature was wore out, called to him *Seutrochio* his eldest son, to whom, in the presence of *Odmar*, and all his council, he ran over his life, from the time of being made regent of *Sachetay* ; saying he had received from the hand of his father two able and worthy men, to whom he had constantly listened and trusted, in all his affairs : that the hopes every body conceived of his virtue in his youth had called him to the *Tartar* empire ; for having by the advice of these faithful counsellors undertaken a war against the *Muscovites*, and finished it with great honour to *Parthia*, \* the emperor

\* *Nerva* adopted *Trajan*, who proved the most accomplished prince in all history : it was a happiness to be born under his reign, which blessed the empire with more prosperity and true glory than it had ever enjoyed before. He was an admirable states-

ror gave him his daughter in marriage, and adopted him for his son and successor; in hopes that by his prudence and valour, the old prince's grey hairs would be conducted in peace to the grave: That the emperor was not deceived in his expectation; for he honoured him as his prince, and loved him as his father; and behaved with so much prudence, that he succeeded to the empire without the least disturbance at his death. "I will also tell you, my son, he added, that I not only succeeded him in the empire, but in the love of his servants, whom you now see about me, and who have faithfully served me during the time I have enjoyed it. The late emperor only promised them a reward for their services, but I have had the good fortune, in some measure, to reward them. I leave these servants to you,

man, and a most accomplished general; the native sweetness of his disposition inclined him to universal humanity; and his unclouded penetration, guided him through the best and purest tracks of government; he was actuated by a noble soul, to whose embellishment every virtue had contributed; his conduct was free from all extremes, and his amiable qualities were tempered with that exact proportion, that the brightness of one was never lost in the lustre of another. *Reflec. on the causes of the gr. and decl. of the Romans, trans. from the Fr.*

" who are worthy to be so many kings ; respect them, and reign with them ; they will conduct thy youth with honour." Then giving his hand to the princes and lords, he presented them to his son, and told him, that in these consisted the greatness of his empire and his own happiness. After this he paused, then said, " My son, love justice, and grant it impartially to the poor as well as the rich ; it is your duty : be good and humane to your friends, pardon those that particularly offend yourself, and never undertake any war but in a just cause." At this time a lord was admitted whom *Axalla* sent with news of two victories gained over the forces of *Calepin* ; and the envoy, after he had given an account of the success of his arms, took the liberty of saying, that he hoped his majesty would command the army in person next summer ; for the *Greek* empire would be easy to conquer. The emperor answered, He did not doubt of his soldiers affection, but was called by a greater than himself to a happier conquest. Then taking a ring from his thumb, bid this lord give it to *Axalla*, as a mark of his esteem ; and tell this general, that for the future he must receive his orders from his son, who would reward the officers

officers and soldiers for the important services they had done their country. After this he called for his youngest son, and gave the two princes his last blessing and last commands; then sent them to console the empress their mother; and ordered *Odmar* to take particular care to have his youngest son taught to love and respect the eldest; for on the union of the brothers depended the welfare of the empire. Night being come, *Tamerlane* slept very quietly, and the next morning signed a dispatch for *Axalla*, without the least alteration, and immediately after turning himself, began to slumber; by which it soon appeared he was departing this life, and *Seutrochis* was called to close his eyes.

The young prince was proclaimed emperor two hours after the decease of his father, and couriers dispatched into all the provinces, to acquaint the governors with the death of the emperor, and proclamation of his son. *Seutrochis* rewarded the servants of the late emperor, made a general review of the army, harrangued the officers and soldiers, and ordered them their pay; but would not do any thing more till he had seen *Axalla*, and joined the imperial army. This  
prince

prince was twenty one years old, handsome, and had a great deal of his father's sweetnes of temper, which made every one hope, that by the advice of the worthy counsellors placed about him, he would govern prudently. On the other hand it was feared, that the young prince *Letrockio*, who was the mother's favourite, would create divisions in the empire, as it happened in the time of their grandfather, betwixt two brothers, to the great detriment of the state, which was restored and raised to this high pitch of grandeur by the virtue of *Tamerlane*.

F I N I S.



## E R R A T A.

PAGE 17. line 12. read, *that a rebellion*. P. 19. l. 12. r. *that this manner of acting*. P. 93. l. 21. for *post r. port*. P. 128. in the 15th line of the notes, r. *too natural to princes*.

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